FBIS DAILY REPORT

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CSSR DELEGATE ADDRESSES GENEVA ARMS TALKS

LD042021 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] Switzerland: Ambassador Milos Vejvoda, heading the Czechoslovak delegation, spoke today at today's inaugural session of the Disarmament Conference in Geneva. He recalled the results of the meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, which provided new opportunities for an agreement on specific measures to stop the build-up of arms. He also criticized Washington's claim that a ban on nuclear weapons tests can be embarked upon only when the issue of verification has been resolved.

The Soviet Union has already proposed an appropriate solution, and has shown the way for an agreement by declaring a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions. Milos Vejvoda also called for a committee to be set up to deal with the prevention of the militarization of space because the Pentagon has confirmed that it is not renouncing its plans for the so-called "star wars". [Prague CTK in English at 1515 GMT on 4 February, in reporting on the Disarmament Conference session, noted: "Czechoslovak delegate Milos Vejvada said the new Soviet proposals are in full harmony with the vital interests of the Czechoslovak people. The Soviet-American summit meeting has created favourable conditions for improving the situation in the world, for a return to the policy of detente, he added."]

ISRAELI AIR 'PIRACY' INSTIGATED BY U.S.

AU050948 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 5 Feb 86

[Text] Tirana, February 5 (ATA) -- The news agencies, referring to Radio-Tripoli and the Libyan News Agency, JANA, report that Israeli military airplanes intercepted a passenger aircraft of Libyan Air Company, en route to Damascus from Tripoli and forced it down in the Ramat David air military base near Haifa, northern Israel. The forced landing of the Libyan passenger airplane was also reported by Israeli military sources. On this occasion Radio Tripoli accused the United States of America of helping "the Israeli air pirates" in the interception of Libyan aircraft and added that American warships engaged in military exercises north of Libya furnished Israel with information and data about the flights of Libyan airlines.

This new act of piracy by Israeli Zionists is another convincing example of the arrogant terrorism they exercise against the Arab sovereign and independent countries with the instigation and support of American imperialists. It is also a concrete implementation of American-Israeli military threats against Libya.

1986-90 TRADE AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH CSSR

AU311314 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 31 Jan 86

[Text] Tirana, January 31 (ATA) -- The agreement on the exchange of goods and payments for 1986-1990 period between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia was signed in Tirana on January 30. The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Pajtim Ajazi and for the Czechoslovak side by the Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Jan Stracar. Present at the signing ceremony were the members of both delegations. Attending was also the charge d'affaires ad interim of the embassy of the SR of Czechoslovakia in Tirana Otto Jachek.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will export in the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia iron-nickel ore, agricultural products, artistic ones, tobacco and cigarettes, different canned articles, etc, and will import semi-finished articles, tubes, different steels, machineries, chemicals, etc.

Over its stay in our country the delegation was received also by the Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci.

CEMENT INDUSTRY HAS 'NOTICEABLE LOSSES'

AU281524 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 22 Jan 86 p 1

[Ilir Dhima article: "The Great Moneybag of Account No 93 -- Who Foots the Bill for Losses in the Economy?"]

[Text] Account No 93 registers the losses of enterprises -- and there are noticeable losses in many enterprises of Kruje District. Such losses are apparent in the cement factory in Fushe-Kruje, when one leafs through the many bills and invoices for amounts due to other enterprises within and outside the district. Bills for work not yet paid for? No -- for work not done. For that is what they are. Neither the workers of the enterprise claiming payment, nor of the factory itself, have shed a drop of sweat, even though thousands of leks vanish from the till each year.

Without wanting to cite further examples, let us merely note some recent cases to explain how damaging such practices are to the economy. They stem from, and encourage, bureaucratic and sentimental attitudes in individual people.

In September of last year, merely for hours of delay in loading and unloading goods, the cement factory in Kruje paid [figure illegible] leks to the regional railroad administration in Tirana, and in October 279,000 leks to the administration in Lac -- we are speaking in each case merely of bills due to the railraod, and only for hours of delay. Again in December, 4,200 leks were paid to Tirana, and now finally in January a bill for 63,700 leks is being made out to the cement factory. Bit by bit, a few leks for this and a few for that, and the losses of this factory last year approached 2,500 [figure indistinct] leks. But what else can one imagine after such facts?

Bujar Mezini, head of the finance department: I have repeatedly given information about the losses to the management, which has sometimes been considered by the technical council, and sometimes not. As for the causes of this state of affairs, I think they should be looked at by those responsible -- that is, the comrades of the supply and distribution department.

Naim Shehu, in charge of the supply and distribution department: Many hours of delay are caused at our depot near the railroad station in Tirana, because we have no winch to draw the wagons to the place where they would be coupled to the train. We have asked the accountancy department of the Ministry of Construction to find us one, but have not had an answer for 2 years. Also, we do not have enough workers for three shifts at the depot, to meet the demands of the station. As for the delays at Lac, we laid this question before the arbitration of the district, but the matter was decided unilaterally against us.

To the question we put to Gani Preza, factory manager, as to why delays at Tirana station had not been looked into for a year and a half, the supply manager once more came to our assistance. Against whom can administrative measures be taken when three are so many different factors? Indeed, this is a reason -- though also a pseudoreason -- and subjective attitudes also play a part. For example, why do the workers at the depot not properly record periods of power cuts and water stoppages imposed by the local Tirana utilities? Why are more effective measures not taken to mechanize the loading process at the factory? Why was there no insistence on a better relationship between production and ancillary workers, and why has there not been a strict control of work discipline in the transport of goods, etc., etc. "Ah well, the money goes from the state to the state!" think some people, instead of deciding whose hand has to dig into his pocket to compensate for losses in the economy. If this is not done, funds allocated to this or that enterprise will be misused, and the allotted tasks of increasing production and reducing costs will not be realized. The party Central Committee 13th plenum again stressed that the principal and most likely way to prevent such things is to fulfill the plan and all its targets, and, by such efforts, to increase in everyone a sense of responsibility. Recently, the comrades of the cement factory, together with the railroad station, have begun to chart a 5-day graph, which opens the possibility of enforcing stricter discipline. Such models may be found for other contractual relationships, and their application would define individual responsibility better and more fairly, and so prevent so-called losses in the economy. But these measures must be taken as fast as possible, and not applied in any sentimental spirit.

REAGAN STATE OF UNION ADDRESS ANALYZED

AU051130 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 5 Feb 86

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] President Reagan read his State of the Union message to the U.S. Congress. He expressed hope that the meeting he held with Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, in Geneva and Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to the United States will lead to the establishment of more stable relations between the two countries.

It is true that the Geneva meeting represented a good beginning that should be implemented with actions. In a declaration made by Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union proposed (?effective measures) for nuclear disarmament, but for the time being, America does not by any means support the spirit of Geneva.

In his message to the U.S. Congress Reagan declared that the rate of speed of increasing military expenditures will not slow down. At this very moment a conflict between Congress and the President regarding this crucial question is becoming evident. The congressmen, in a year of reelection, are not inclined to support the cutting down of social programs in an effort to balance the budget and insist that military expenditures should be reduced instead. Congress and the President are supporting two opposite stands, and this struggle will continue until October, when the voting on the new budget is scheduled to take place.

It is a well-known fact that Reagan postponed his State of the Union message for a week in connection with the Challenger space shuttle tragedy. Now there is a discussion in the United States whether this kind of space ships has a future.

[Begin Reagan recording, fading into translation] We will continue the flights of the shuttle program and we will build our own space station and we will continue the work on a new air express, which must be created by the end of the forthcoming decade. [end recording]

In this manner the President gave an indirect answer to the question of whether one should not rethink the space shuttle program, which is heavily entrusted by the Pentagon with specific tasks in connection with the development [razrabotka] of "star wars." President Reagan did not dwell on the [words indistinct] of the disaster. Generally speaking, the supporters of the militarization of space do not consider the fact that even the most insignificant malfunction in [words indistinct] is likely to provoke a total disaster. As Dimitur Gornenski, our RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in Moscow, writes, who can guarantee that such a malfunction will not occur? Is it not true that the efficiency of the SDI system can be tested only once, namely, during a nuclear world war?

MINISTERS BUREAU ADOPTS STORM EMERGENCY STEPS

AU042017 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] In an extraordinary session, the Bureau of the Council of Ministers discussed the complex situation created recently in certain regions of the country by snowfalls accompanied by strong winds and ice formation. In many regions of the country pylons have been destroyed, hundreds of electric cables and wires cut, and about 1,700 inhabited settlements have remained without electric power, and 450 without water.

Many roads in these regions are now impassable. Due to snowdrifts, trains are running late. In a number of locations, telephone links have been cut, and individual enterprises have temporarily interrrupted their production activities. The transportation of workers has been hampered. The most seriously affected are the Sliven, Stara Zagora, and Yambol Okrugs.

In the regions affected, the okrug leaderships, together with the relevant ministries, departments, and economic organizations, and with the participation of the Army, have speedily organized to make repairs and normalize the situation.

In light of the continuing serious situation and the weather forecast saying that during the next few days things will become more complicated, the Bureau of the Council of Ministers has adopted additional measures to speedily overcome the various difficulties. The permanent Government Commission for Struggle Against Natural disaster, as well as the ministries, departments, people's councils' executive committees, and economic organizations have been charged with creating an emergency organization for the immediate and priority solution of all problems connected with the restoration of the electric power lines and other energy installations, and to ensure normal electricity supplies. Military personnel are to take an active part in the repairs.

The Ministry of Transport and the industrial committees of the okrug people's councils, together with the economic organizations and consignors of goods, have been charged with ensuring the speedy transport of goods for domestic and export markets by making maximum possible use of the Danube waterway and the Varna-Ilichevsk shipping route. Enterprises and organizations which have industrial [word indistinct] are to draw up special measures to speed up operations to handle goods.

The Central Council of the National Agroindustrial Union and the executive committees of the okrug people's councils, are called upon to take measures to ensure the regular supply of food and water for the animal breeding farms, and not to permit a reduction in the production and number of animals. The executive committees as well as trading organizations and the Central Cooperative Union, are called upon to ensure the urgent supply of food products to the population in remote areas.

The Bureau of the Council of Ministers assessed the fulfillment of the plan for January, and drew up measures to cope with this situation complicated by the weather, for the successful fulfillment of the February and first-quarter plans. Under the circumstances, an even stricter regime of economies must be conducted with respect to raw materials, materials, fuel, and energy at all enterprises and by the population. Jointly with the trade union organ and organizations, they are to set up nationwide socialist competition to achieve 1 percent higher labor productivity and a 0.5 percent reduction in primary production costs over and above that provided in the planned norms [normativite], and in honor of the 13th BCP Congress to guarantee the fulfillment of the plan by all labor collectives.

REAGAN'S ADDRESS, DEMOCRATS' VIEW CITED

LD051139 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0600 GMT 5 Feb 86

[New York correspondent Vladimir Solecky report on U.S. President Ronald Reagan's State of the Union Address]

[Text] President Reagan once again, with the help of his self-confident and optimistic rhetoric, claimed that the United States and its economy are in excellent condition. He had to admit, however, that his government and the Congress would have to jointly deal with the difficult task of how to reduce the vast federal budget deficit. The draft budget for next year, which the Reagan administration will submit to Congress, has already been called unrealistic by the leadership of the Democratic Party.

The President in his speech, however, insisted that it is possible to reduce the deficit without any increase in taxes and at the same time preserve the vast military spending of the Pentagon. He also asserted in his message that he would continue with the expensive "star wars" program and other space projects. The Democratic Party entrusted the formulation of its views to several representatives who stressed the urgency of solving the critical situation facing U.S. farmers and pointed out the destructive consequences of Reagan's budget and financial policy, a policy that in 5 years trebled the U.S. national debt. These representatives hinted that a more efficient Pentagon and agreements with the Soviet Union could lead to the solution of the budget deficit by reducing military spending.

Further Report

LD051053 Prague Democratic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 5 Feb 86

[Text] United States -- President Ronald Reagan wants to solve the vast budget deficit of his government by making considerable cuts in social programs. As he confirmed in the traditional message by the President on the State of the Union, the White House will push for renewing military aid to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries and material aid to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries and material aid to the antigovernment forces in Afghanistan, Cambodia and Angola. Ronald Reagan did not mention the new Soviet peace proposals in his message. He announced, however, the development of a new space craft which will be able to achieve a speed 25 times faster than the speed of sound. He stressed again that it is necessary to keep the United States strong because this is virtually important not only for its security but also for its economy.

HUSAK SPEAKS ON DEVELOPMENT AT LOCAL MEETING

AU301525 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jan 86 pp 1, 2

[From the speech by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, at a municipal party conference in Brno on 25 January: "Translating Agreement With Grand Goals Into Space Action"]

[Text] Opening his speech, Comrade Husak conveyed greetings to the delegates of the municipal CPCZ conference in the name of the Central Committee and in his own name. He voiced appreciation for the report of the CPCZ City Committee, which reflects the great amount of work done by Brno Communists in the past period.

He drew attention to the fact that following last week's conferences, conferences in an additional 65 districts and municipal districts all over the state are being held today. Since last June, when the CPCZ Central Committee decided to convene the 17th congress, more than 1.6 million Communists have been deliberating, beginning with meetings of primary party organizations and progressing to higher links of the party structure. In a free and democratic discussion, they ponder the results that have been achieved, also speaking openly about weak spots and shortcomings and seeking ways of overcoming them. It is possible to note with satisfaction that these deliberations are held at a higher level than was the case in the past. They are marked by identity of views, a critical approach to results, and, what is particularly important, by active efforts to come to terms with the more demanding [future] tasks. Our public is following the deliberations of Communists with keen interest. This, too, is an expression of the practical recognition of our party's leading role in society.

At the conferences and in the entire precongress preparations, Comrade Husak said, attention concentrates on two basic issues: taking stock of the work that has been done, and the tasks that are still in front of us. Serving as the point of departure are the conclusions of the June and December sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee and the documents that have been made public -- the draft "Main Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of Czechoslovakia for the Period 1986-90 and Prospects for the Period Until the Year 2000" and the proposed amendments to the CPCZ Statutes.

We are able to say that at all these party deliberations full support is being expressed for the line and practical activity of the CPCZ Central Committee in its domestic and foreign policy, as well as general approval of the precongress documents that have been published. All this confirms that our party is firm, ideologically and organizationally united, and capable of action. We immensely value this trust and support. We know from the past that when this unity does not exist, the danger of critical phenomena arises. That is why in the future we will also devote attention to comprehensively strengthening the party's unity.

The question is sometimes being asked why we take stock precisely of the past 15 years and map out a program for the next 15 years, Comrade Husak said. Looking back at the past 15 years gives people a better opportunity to judge, on the basis of our policy and our course of action. Since the 14th congress, the Marxist-Leninist path followed by our party has been vindicated in all areas. Practical life has confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist principles by which we are consistently guided in dealing with practical problems concerning the development of our society, economy, social life, culture, and all walks of life. It is due to this, and due to the efforts exerted by millions of working people, that our society has made significant progress in all areas. Everyone who has eyes to see and who is not biased must appreciate what has been achieved in society and in the life of every individual.

At the same time, we see how complicated the world is today; how much tension, conflicts, and all kinds of upheavals it contains. Throughout the entire period of the past 15 years, our advanced and consolidated socialist state has stood firmly and has been marked by social stability and calm. And if there has been any restlessness, it was a creative restlessness, the search for new ways, the endeavor to enrich social development with new elements and initiatives. The political stability of our society is to a decisive degree founded on the fact that the entire National Front identifies with the party's policy and program -- millions of members of social organizations such as trade unions and youth organizations, but also other political parties and components of the National Front. This stability is thus founded on the firm unity between the party and the people on all basic questions concerning our society's development. The respect which our country has gained in the world is also an expression of the recognition that our path is the correct path.

We can rightly say that the political balance sheet of the past 15 years is unequivocally a positive one, Comrade Husak said. The experiences that we have gathered in the process provide a guarantee that this favorable development of our society is not just a coincidence, but that our citizens can reckon with good prospects for the future.

Comrade Husak went on to deal with the socioeconomic balance sheet of the past 15 years. He said that the best evidence of the development in this sector is furnished by figures. The data contained in the draft Main Guidelines show very concretely the marked progress achieved by our society in developing the national economy and in the social sphere, in ensuring people's needs. They show the great advancement in housing construction, in developing our cities, in increasing private and public consumption, in health care, in support for families with children, in the concern for citizens enjoying their deserved rest, in education, culture, and other fields. The data on last year's results that have been published in the report of the Federal Statistical Office confirm the continuation of the upward trend.

At the same time we must not forget that, in view of the great role of foreign economic relations in our economy, the critical development in the capitalist world has been causing us considerable difficulties. It has been necessary to resist attempts at imposing all kinds of embargoes on us and at applying discriminatory measures against us. We have had to come to terms with profound changes in the external, but also internal conditions of economic development. All these obstacles notwithstanding, we have succeded in ensuring constant socioeconomic growth and safeguarding the social guarantees of the working people.

Some people regard this as something self-evident. But you read and hear what is happening in the world, about the fate of millions of unemployed, millions of young and older people deprived of all hopes and prospects. It is, in particular, comparison with the capitalist countries that makes the political, economic, and social stability of our society, and its significance for our people, stand out in an especially striking way. The great majority of our people see that, from the viewpoint of the working man, socialism has proved to be an incomparably better and more equitable social system than any other system.

Comrade Husak went on to stress that among the traits of Communists is that they see not only the nicer side of the coin, but that they also soberly assess the results achieved and see also the weak points, shortcomings, mistakes, and errors of various kinds.

Yes, it is true that we have achieved good results. But it is necessary to ask whether they could not have been even better, given the resources and potentials. The answer is unambiguous: yes, we could have achieved more. In this connection he pointed to some untapped possibilities that require neither investment nor new material cost. In individual cases, these things may appear to be trifles, but in their sum they represent billions which we could use to improve people's lives, for instance, in the social sphere.

Let us consider just one area, the utilization of machinery, Comrade Husak said. Advanced Western countries are trying to make top technology do 3-shift work. This, in turn, permits the rapid renewal of this technology. But what is shift work like in our country, frequently even in highly modern production facilities? The average shift intensity rate is slightly over 1.3. An expensive piece of machinery that is allowed to stand about idly is pulling money out of society's pocket. That is why it is so important to seek more effective ways of making better use of technology, especially advanced modern technology.

Neither can we be satisfied with the utilization of working hours in offices, factories, and elsewhere. Various estimates suggest losses of 5, 10, and at some places even 20 or more percent. Everyone understands that if no work is done, no new values are created. What is needed to set this right? More discipline and responsibility. In this respect we have had good experience with the development of the brigade method of organizing labor, in which the collective itself looks after order, making sure that all its members conscientiously discharge their duties and no one does other people's work. That is why the application of the brigade method of organizing labor and remuneration must be fully supported and introduced on a broad basis.

Although there are a number of good examples, there are also a great many cases of breakdowns in the process of production and of losses caused by the failure to ensure regular supplies of materials. Sometimes it is only a trifle that is wanting, but a last-minute rush is then needed to make up for the shortfall. In a number of sectors, supplier-user relations do not function well because of lack of necessary discipline in deliveries among enterprises and branches. All this reduces the effect of production and people's work suffers from it. That is why it is so important to strive to bring about a remedy. But not everything can be dealt with from the center. Every place of work must contribute to this by a disciplined and good-quality fulfillment of its tasks, Comrade Husak said.

The great majority of people understands the principle that honest work must be given for honest pay. By consistently applying this principle at every place of work, we will open the way for tapping enormous hidden reserves. We must consistently enforce the principle that earnings must correspond to the work done. When someone works well, efficiently, and usefully, his wages must reflect this. But it is wrong when he who works well and he who performs poorly are equally well or badly off. This is a basic question of work and human ethics, which Communists must consistently enforce. The overwhelming majority of honest people will agree with us, but we must not be afraid of waging a struggle for this principle if necessary.

Comrade Kusak also emphasized the importance of seeing to production quality improvements. Everywhere we must assert a tough line reinforcing technological discipline, and strive to produce better industrial and food products out of the raw and industrial materials available to us. We must cultivate in people the awareness that they are both producers and consumers and that all of us pay dearly for poor quality work. The requirement of top quality production must become an unconditional law everywhere.

One of our important tasks is to enforce greater discipline, control, and quality in all sectors. We must face up to diehardism, and more resolutely deal with all instances of disorder that we encounter. The obligation of all Communists, of all party organizations, is not to wait for the remedy to be brought about by someone else, not to become reconciled to existing shortcomings, but to make use of the party's right of control and demand that the relevant agencies deal with the matter.

The order of the day is to wage a sharper struggle against all negative phenomena, starting with cases of small disorder and sloppiness and ending with malpractices such as abuse of one's rank and function and striving for unearned income. There is no reason for people to be silent about such negative phenomena in their surroundings, or their place of work. Broad use must be made of the tested method of criticism and self-criticism. Its purpose is not to ruin anyone but to set things right. It is sometimes argued that meetings are boring; but frequently this is the case only because one does not speak concretely and directly enough there about what is done well, or badly, by specific people. The method of criticism and self-criticism as an instrument of the struggle against shortcomings must be carried into the entire life of our society.

Comrade Husak then dealt with the tasks mapped out in the Main Guidelines. He stressed that there cannot be any discussions about the plan for this year, which has already been approved and has become a law, but that it is necessary to concentrate forces on fulfilling this plan in all its aspects from the very beginning. Questions concerning our development in the next 5 years and the subsequent period have been submitted to the party and the entire public for assessment. We use as our point of departure the prospect of the 15 years ahead beaause the key social problems, in particular, cannot be dealt with by considering just the next 5 years or even a shorter span of time.

The working people's observations and suggestions will be taken into account in working out and discussing the final document at the congress. In considering them, it is essential to bear in mind our realistic possibilities It is impossible to resolve all the problems today or tomorrow. What can be done, however, is to set the necessary priorities and the sequency of tackling them.

In mapping out political, economic, and social targets, we proceed in a demanding yet realistic and sober manner. We do not want to sugarcoat things on produce illusions. We are putting the facts openly on the table for people to be able to judge the conclusions we have reached and the targets we formulate for the future.

Occasionally we hear voices claiming that the tasks are too high for some enterprises. However, our experiences and analyses confirm that the basic targets in speeding up the dynamism of economic and social development, targets which find their expression in the task to reach a 3.5 percent average annual growth of national economy and people's living standards are to grow. No one will give us any gifts and neither do we want to get into debt. Nothing but the results of our work will ensure the meeting of our targets.

In the past decades, the incorrect practice has developed of striving for low tasks that are easy to fulfill. But low tasks ultimately mean a slow development of society and living standards. The great responsibility of leading cadres, and Communists in particular, is to attend in the first place to that which is needed by society.

Marx expressed a great thought: An idea that takes hold of the people becomes an enormous material force. Even today, what matters is that our people understand the goals that we are setting ourselves for the coming years, that they come to identify with the, and that they commit themselves fully to their implementation.

Comrade Husak devoted great attention to questions concerning the development of science and technology. He spoke about what he had learned from the discussion with a group of leading officials working in this field which he had in Brno on Friday [24 Jan] and about the things that must be done in order to more rapidly eliminate obstacles and achieve better results. He pointed out that we have recorded certain progress in the period since the 16th congress, but that the overall results are not sufficient from the viewpoint of our needs and possibilities.

One of the foremost requirements leading to rectification is a more marked activity of our scientific research base. There are about 190,000 persons working in it, and we spend almost Kcs20 billion annually on its development. We have achieved a number of good results, sometimes even first class results, but we cannot be satisfied with the results in general. Among many creative and competent people there are also people who do not produce anything.

One must also be more energetic about eliminating various administrative and other obstacles that hinder scientific research, forging closer links between research and production, and more rapidly implementing its results. Scientific-technological development also must become a true axis of our plans, of all management work. In the entire efforts to perfect the functioning of the economic mechanism, we must pay exceptional attention precisely to this viewpoint.

There are some 750,000 technicians of all types at work in our economy, including more than 550,000 with university or secondary-specialized education. That is quite an army. If it were to fully utilize its potential and possibilities, it could make a considerable contribution to accelerating scientific-technological development. However, one has to know how to talk to the technical intelligentsia everywhere, to win it for these plans. Not many of the smaller countries have such an intellectual potential as Czechoslovakia has, and we must use it better. With the signing of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technological Progress of the CEMA Countries Until the Year 2000, the process of international socialist integration finds itself in a new and higher stage. This provides us with an immense opportunity for advancing more rapidly. It presents us with an unprecedented chance to use the joint strength of the CEMA countries to develop cooperation in key directions of scientific-technological progress. Therefore we sincerely welcome this program, which counts on the use of more flexible forms of cooperation also among enterprises, and we will take an active part in its implementation. The bilateral agreements with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries on cooperation up to the year 2000 are also of great importance to us.

The vital thing now is to transform the agreement with the demanding objectives into concrete everyday deeds. It is not enough to adopt good resolutions, the important thing is that they be implemented, Comrade Husak said. It is easy to talk about it, but in practice matters are more complicated. The mission of Communists, of the fighting, aware vanguard, is to assert all these necessary principles in life, together with all working people. To combine wise heads and honest hands with communist responsibility -- that is the guarantee of a successful road forward.

Statistical data show that now more than 60 percent of our population was born after 1945. What tasks are we to determine for the coming generations? I think precisely the scientific-technological revolution, the effort to speed up scientific-technological development, enhances our country in that respect. It combines the achievements of science and technology with the advantages of socialism. This concerns the great majority of the population which will work and administer this state in the year 2000. Therefore it is so important to provide young people with greater scope and responsibility. This is also one of the reasons we pay such attention to a smooth renewal of cadres, renewal of agencies, succession of generations, and preparing young people for responsible work.

In the closing part of his speech, Comrade Gustav Husak addressed himself to some topical issues of the international situation. He particularly stressed the importance of the recent new Soviet peace proposals submitted by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev. He noted that the program has met with a huge international response, with the broadest support from all progressively, democratically, and realistically thinking people throughout the world.

We realistically assess the ratio of forces on the global scale, the role of the international imperialist system, and the interests of big supranational armament monopolies, who achieve immense profits from the latest round of feverish arms buildup and which, in the interest of their objectives, influence the policy of the imperialist states, their media, and public opinion.

Therefore the struggle for the realization of the Soviet peace proposals will require an immense effort, a united coordinated course of the socialist countries, and the cooperation of all peace forces. Comrade Husak expressed full support for the Soviet peace initiatives, which are in full harmony with the vital interests of the Czechoslovak people. The CSSR will continue to actively participate in the struggle for peace and progress, for averting the threat of nuclear war, and for disarmament.

In conclusion, Comrade Husak wished the Brno Communists, and all Brno working people, new successes in the struggle for the further development of socialist society.

RUDE PRAVO VIEWS SFRY POLITICAL, SOCIAL ILLS

AU031243 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jan 86 p 6

[Article by Jan Hrobar, RUDE PRAVO correspondent in Belgrade: "Search for Effective Medicine: Yugoslavaia at the Threshold of a New Year"]

[Text] The Communist Party will hold its congress in Yugoslavia this year, there will be general elections, and new assemblies and governments will be formed. The country's supreme political bodies have enunciated the principle that the participants in the congress and voters should not be presented with pending problems but with answers to them, with positions showing how to solve them.

Given the protracted intricate crisis [in Yugoslavia], achieving this goal will undoubtedly be a most difficult and arduous task.

Unity Above All

"The degree and the manner in which Yugoslav Communists will stand up against manifestations of disunity in their own ranks and against everyday lack of restraint [zivelnost] will determine in a decisive manner social development in the year that has begun." This is how the central LCY organ KOMUNIST sees the development, simultaneously drawing attention to an alarming situation. The Yugoslav press attributed the situation that has arisen to the large number of diverging partial interests that split society's and the LCY's forces. Josip Vrhovec, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has described as the greatest danger the attempts to "promote ideological and political pluralism within the LCY." These attempts are manifested in the strong trend toward the LCY's federalization.

The most frequently cited example of the complicated structure of the LC is the composition of the LCY Central Committee itself, which is made up of nine groups of members elected and delegated to the Central Committee at congresses or conferences of the LC's of individual republics, autonomous provinces, and the People's Army. The demand has emerged from internal party discussion that the party be headed by a united body elected directly by the congress. The call for the unity of Yugoslav Communists has left its mark on preparations for the congress.

Green Light for Changes

Criticism of the existing system and questions asking why this stystem works badly are also connected with overcoming the crisis.

On the LCY's initiative, the social system was subjected to a critical analysis. The result of the special commission's work, which lasted more than 3 years, has now been submitted for public discussion. The analysis arrived at the conclusion that not everything is in order and that some corrective measures and changes in the system are necessary. When the LCY Central Committee dealt with these problems at its session in January, it warned against destructive forces that have taken advantage of the current crisis and, by way of criticizing the system's shortcomings, have been trying to liquidate its essence. The LCY Central Committee energetically rejected such attempts. At the same time it described as harmful views proclaiming that the system in in perfect order.

In the criticism of the system, the most frequently raised objection is that it is complicated, that procedures are cumbersome, they frequently obstruct rational solutions, and are a source of opportunistic decisions. The united Yugoslav market has disintegrated under the pressure of partial interests. The LCY Central Committee endorsed the process of reexamining the weaknesses of the system and eliminating from it all that has proved to slow down social development. However, the longwindedness that has become the essential trait of all procedures could easily also accompany the attempts to bring about constructive changes.

A Vicious Circle of Uncertainty

At the end of last year, the LCY Central Committee described inflation as the greatest social evil, which it is necessary to combat resolutely. However, instead of being subdued, as anchored in the plans for this year, it has achieved record heights. According to official statistics, the rate of inflation is more than 80 percent. Yugoslav economists agree that inflation is supported by foreign factors that deform the Yugoslav economy, especially by the interference of the demands of the International Monetary Fund. However, domestic factors also "pour oil" in considerable mounts onto the inflationary fire.

The position of the supreme party body has met with the resolute support of other top-level state and social agencies. Anti-inflationary criteria have been built into both the 5-year plan and the plan for this year. These plans foresee a radical reducation in the rate of inflation.

However, out of fear that prices might be frozen on a broad scale, the self-management agencies have hurried to raise them in order to secure for themselves advantageous positions. A new explosion of prices took place. In the first days of January, the daily press registered that more than 1,000 articles had become more expensive, many of them by up to 70 percent.

This unfavorable start of the new year forced the LCY Central Committee to put inflation once again on the agenda of its January session. "If society fails to energetically face up to this drag on our economy," appealed Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, "our plans will founder and that would have highly negative economic and political repercussions."

Developments confirm the justification of the doubts that have been expressed by KOMUNIST in an article pondering this year. "No one can be sure whether the Yugoslav economy is entering the new year as a severely ill or a convalescent patient."

URBAN SIGNS TRADE PROTOCOL WITH NICARAGUA

AU041105 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Feb 86 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- The third session of the Joint Czechoslovak-Nicaraguan Commission for Economic, Trade, and Scientific-Technological Cooperation ended in Prague on Friday [31 January]. The final protocol of the session was signed for the Nicaraguan side by Henry Ruiz Hernandez, minister of foreign cooperation, and by Bohumil Urban, minister of foreign trade, for the Czechoslovak side.

Cooperation to date was assessed during the session and it was noted that Czechoslovakia plays a significant part in the revival and development of the Nicaraguan national economy. The basis of future bilateral cooperation will be deliveries of Czechoslovak equipment to construct a textile combine and expand a cement works. In addition, the CSSR will deliver to Nicaragua trucks, textile, leather-processing, and shoe-making machinery, and other goods. The Nicaraguan side submitted its export offer containing, among other things, items such as cotton and bananas.

The Nicaraguan delegation left the CSSR the same day. It will also pay a visit to Poland and Bulgaria, where it will discuss mutual economic cooperation with these countries.

CSSR-BULGARIAN COOPERATION TALKS END 4 FEB

LD041857 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] The Czechoslovak-Bulgarian Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation meeting ended in Prague today. At the conclusion of the talks, the heads of the two delegations, Ladislav Gerle, deputy federal premier, and Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, signed a document summarizing the results of the meeting. The document says that future mutual cooperation will concentrate on electronics and the electrotechnical industry, and general and heavy engineering. Cooperation in science and technology, which is important not only for the economic advancement of Czechoslovakia but also for Bulgaria, will also deepen.

KAREL HOFFMANN RECEIVES SOVIET TU OFFICIAL

LD032057 Prague Domestic Service in Cezh 1730 GMT 3 Feb 86

[Text] Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCA Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, today received Kazimeras Matskyavichyus, secretary of the USSR All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. They spoke about the activity of our and Soviet trade unions in the struggle for peace and disarmament, and expressed again their full support for the January statement of Mikhail Gorbachev. Representatives of the two trade union organizations agreed on specific measures for the strengthening of the joint struggle of Czechoslovak and Soviet trade unions for the implementation of the program for a complete removal of nuclear arms by the end of this century, the removal of chemical arms and a gradual limitation and reduction of conventional arms and armed forces.

FRIEDMANN REFLECTS ON CHALLENGER DISASTER RESULTS

DW041310 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 3 Feb 86

[Arno Friedmann's weekly international review]

[Excerpt] The disaster of the Challenger space shuttle has touched off new heated debates particularly on the SDI space weapons program. The questions raised reflect worries and alarm. For example, the following question has been asked: NASA's highly efficient computers failed to detect the accident in advance. Do we not have to suspect that the Pentagon's computers will not be any more efficient if some day they are to control space weapons? Robert (Baumann), president of the U.S. Space and Security Research Institute and a highly competent expert, considered the problem from another angle. He asked what could have happened if there were already space-based weapons systems and a spaceship exploded, not immediately following its launch but only in its envisaged orbit? Would the suspicion not emerge, with all the consequences it entails, that the spaceship was destroyed by an enemy antisatellite weapon? Or, continuing the idea: The explosion of a spaceship in orbit could touch off a nuclear way, because the computers which control the space-based systems would immediately react.

The WALL STREET JOURNAL wrote on the same topic that the disaster had enhanced the doubts of SDI critics about the functioning of SDI. The confidence, wherever it existed, that the United States could develop a technology and a multistage defense against missiles in space was (?deeply) shaken.

Finally, let me mention and repeat another idea expressed by professor Robert (Baumann) whom I quoted earlier. The tragic death of the seven astronauts was not in vain, he said, if it helped make mankind more aware of the great danger that the deployment of weapons in space constituted for the existence of our globe.

GDR ACCEDES TO FRG REQUEST ON TRAVELERS' TRANSIT

LD010951 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0301 GMT 1 Feb 86

[Text] Berlin, 1 Feb (ADN) -- Citing relevant rulings, the FRG Government has requested the GDR only to grant citizens of a series of states transit via the territory of the GDR to the FRG when an endorsement from the FRG exists. The GDR has acceded to this request and will proceed accordingly from 1 February.

The competent organs of the GDR have already for some time applied an analogous practice with respect to transit traffic via the territory of the GDR to Sweden and Denmark at the request of the governments concerned.

Transit traffic to Berlin (West) will not be affected by the rulings made, because Berlin (West) is under occupational law and is not part of the FRG and may not be governed by it.

KLEIBER APPOINTED PERMANENT CEMA REPRESENTATIVE

DW041516 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] The GDR Council of Ministers has appointed its deputy chairman Guenther Kleiber, SED Central Committee Politburo member, as permanent representative of the GDR to CEMA. At the same time, he resigns from his post as minister of general engineering, agricultural machinery and vehicle building.

HONECKER QUERIED ON FOREIGN, DOMESTIC POLICY, SDI

DW310815 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 31 Jan 86 pp 3-7

[Interview with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, by DIE ZEIT'S Theo Sommer, editor in chief, and Marties Menge, GDR correspondent: "Living With Each Other, Getting Along With Each Other", -- time and place not given]

[Text] Question; What is the significance of the Geneva meeting between the Soviet general secretary and the U.S. President for the two German states?

Answer: The Geneva summit meeting and its results, which we have welcomed as encouraging and positive, are of great significance for all mankind. The resulting favorable conditions provide a solution to the main question of preventing a nuclear catastrophe by ending the arms race on earth and preventing it from spreading into space. A peaceful future depends on this, particularly as far as the GDR and the FRG are concerned. No one would lose anything, everyone would gain. First disarmament steps in accordance with the results of the Geneva summit would serve to stop a further buildup of weapons on German soil, achieve more security and create peace with fewer weapons.

You know, Mr. Sommer, that Mikhail Gorbachev has presented a comprehensive program to free the world of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. The GDR has announced its full support for this. We see a historical chance in this program. It is impressive not only for the courage of its vision but above all with the fact that it can be realized by the appropriate action on both sides. Those who seriously want peace can only be strengthened in their resolve to do everything possible to contribute to the realization of this magnificent aim by the idea of a world without nuclear weapons.

With this program it has now presented -- it could be called the program of the century -- the Soviet Union has again confirmed its firm intention to make progress on the path of securing peace. I am convinced that it is possible to make every year into a year of peace with this global concept for disarmament, announced at the start of the international UN Peace Year. Powerful means would then be freed for humanity and its progress. The peoples could truly breathe a sigh of relief.

Important impulses emanated from the Gevena summit for the improvement of the international situation overall. Now it is important that the results of this meeting are well used. All states, governments, parties and social forces are called upon to help smooth the path to nuclear disarmament. There are numerous opportunities for the two German states, as well, to do justice to their responsibility for peace and to work for a secure future for their peoples, indeed, for all of mankind.

Question: The GDR and the FRG are firmly embedded in different alliances. But a special responsibility and a specific interest arises from their situation at the dividing line between the two social systems and military coalitions. How would you define this responsibility, this interest?

Answer: Indeed, there is a special responsibility arising from the situation of the two German states at the sensitive dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO which today is greater than ever. This is also a historical consequence. The two most terrible wars in the existence of nations started from German soil. A third world war, a nuclear inferno would be the self-destruction of mankind.

Today the concentration of death-carrying weapons is nowhere so high in the world as in central Europe. This means for both German states that every military confrontation, whether conventional or nuclear, would be disastrous. That is why the primary interest of the GDR and the FRG can and must be to do everything possible to contribute to securing peace through disarmament and detente for stability in this part of the world.

The GDR is facing up to this. In developing our relations with the FRG we are also assuming that the behavior of the two German states must not provoke additional strains on the situation in Europe but must enhance the peaceful and trusting coexistence of the states and peoples on our continent.

This becomes all the more urgent as the U.S. "star wars" program conjures up the danger of the militarization of space, which brings the peoples to the edge of nuclear catastrophe. The heavens must not be turned into the forecourt of hell. We are for peace on earth and in space.

Question: What maneuvering room do the GDR and Federal Republic have in their respective fields to meet the special intra-German responsibility? Has this maneuvering room increased after the Geneva meeting? Is it restricted on both sides by lingering historical memories especially among the smaller neighbors?

Answer: If you are talking about room to maneuver, I would like to state that ours is unlimited. You can always be sure that our policy, the GDR policy, is aimed at making peace more secure through arms limitation and disarmament. I can say very definitely for the GDR that war will never again emanate from German soil, from its territory, but rather peace. We regard peace preservation as the most important of all tasks and, as you know, are undertaking wide-ranging activities to this end in the world arena, especially after the Geneva meeting. This was also expressed in the meeting of the highest representatives of the Warsaw Pact member-states on 21 November 1985 in Prague.

We regard the dialogue with leading politicians of the nonaligned states and the Western Hemisphere, not least the NATO [as received] countries, as a contribution towards promoting trust and predictability in international relations in order to stabilize peace and security. You will have noted yourselves that we approach matters with reason and realism and demonstrate our readiness for compromises wherever they are conducive to improving the international situation. This is in line with the inherent interests of the GDR and the desire for peace and of its citizens as well as those of our neighbors and friends.

Question: Since the change of power in October 1982 the Kohl government has pragmatically exercised continuity in Ostpolitik. Do you share this view or do you see a different Germany and Ostpolitik by Bonn since the new coalition came into office? Do you have the impression that Bonn is moving away from the joint statement which you and Federal Chancellor Kohl made in Moscow on 12 March 1985?

Answer: After the change of government in 1982 the Federal Government under Chancellor Kohl did indeed declare continuity in its Ostpolitik in view of the valid system of European treaties.

We registered this with interest and, as is well-known, also responded to it in a positive way. In this sense we assess the joint statement between myself and Federal Chancellor Kohl on 12 March 1985 in Moscow as very significant. After all it stresses that the inviolability of existing frontiers and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe within their present borders are a fundamental condition for peace. Federal Chancellor Kohl is clearly adhering to that Moscow statement, which we welcome. In this context I would also like to stress that we reacted positively to the latest statement by Federal President von Weizsaecker at the New Year's reception in Bonn regarding the inviolability of frontiers and respect for the territorial integrity of all states in Europe.

However we are not so naive as to overlook the dangerous ventures of those forces which have learned nothing from history and who dislike the general trend. This produced many contradictions. Pounding away at slogans about a greater Germany and giving themselves up to revanchist wishful thinking not only burdens our relations but can produce the opposite of what we are striving for.

Question: You have repeatedly stated that a return to the cold war trenches would benefit no one. Instead you have spoken in favor of a broader expansion of intra-German relations. How would this broader expansion look? What sort of projects do you envisage for future cooperation?

Answer: Provided that both sides are guided by realism and good will as well as respect for sovereignty and noninterference -- which ought to be a matter of course -- progress will be made in our relations. We attach special importance to the expansion of political relations. For instance, why should it not be possible for the foreign ministers of the two states to meet either in the FRG or GDR in order to discuss security questions? The fact that they have conducted talks repeatedly but only on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly in New York and Madrid, Stockholm and Helsinki, is actually rather unusual for two neighboring states such as the GDR and FRG.

In any case we believe that there are still many untapped opportunities to develop political relations in that spirit in which they contribute in the heart of Europe to creating a zone of stable security and to lessening the risk of nuclear catastrophe. Room for developing relations exists, for example, also in the areas of environmental protection, culture, transport and industry.

Question: How do you assess the prospect for future cooperation in the area of culture, in the scientific-technological area and the environmental protection? Which concrete problems could be tackled on the basis of an environmental protection agreement?

Answer: The text of an agreement on bilateral cultural cooperation was already negotiated between the GDR and FRG some time ago. I am convinced that it will be an important step towards the normalization of relations and will promote cultural exchanges. By the by, for the next 2 years concrete conceptions already exist for this.

In this scientific-technological area there are negotiations under way at present. An agreement will be possible. An environmental protection agreement, which we are negotiating with the FRG Government at present, can make an effective contribution towards the shaping and protection of the environment, as well as the rational use and protection of the natural resources in the two states. Doubtless this also includes the exchange of experiences and technological solutions in keeping the air and waters clean, as well as the preservation and protection of our forests, to mention just a few aspects.

Question: Apart from general cooperation we are above all interested in the cooperation in cleaning up the Werra and Weser as well as the Elbe Rivers. Are there any projects?

Answer: There are negotiations on the Werra and Weser, and we can assume that these negotiations can be concluded, quite independently of the fact whether agreement can be reached on establishing the Elbe frontier. There are also contacts on keeping the Elbe clean. Obviously it would be very important to agree on establishing the frontier in this section of the Elbe. This would make many things easier.

Question: The problem of environmental protection, is this as urgent for your citizens as it is for the citizens of the Federal Republic?

Answer: This is urgent for our citizens. We have been active in the area of environmental protection for a long time. We have laid down special measures to remove harmful substances, and we are trying generally to get better control of this problem in agreement with our population.

However, the term "dying forests" does not apply to us. Forests in the Fichtel Mountains and the whole area toward the CSSR are greatly damaged. Only this week I had another look at a map given to me by our environment minister. There are agreements between the GDR and CSSR to create conditions to ensure that forests can be reafforested so that healthy trees may grow. But apart from that we can say: Our forests are healthy.

"Acid rain" too does not apply to us. I took a long drive to Stralsund with Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme. We went from forest to forest, and he asked me: "What is the effect of acid rain here?" To which I replied: "I am sorry, Mr prime minister, we have no experience with acid rain."

Question: Scientists believe that some air pollution is due to two-stroke engines. When will the first "Trabant" be fitted with a VW engine? Leaving aside for the moment the question whether the VW engine is better for the forests.

Answer: Some claim that the VW engine would be better, others claim this is not the case. It will probably be fitted in 1988. However, let me tell you that the two-stroke engine of the "Trabi" and "Wartburg" has many friends. Not everybody has a garage, yet you can just leave them standing outside without much worry, even in the winter. This still has to be discussed thoroughly.

Question: Concerning the practical inclusion of West Berlin in contractually-based cooperations, how can annoying disputes about interpretation be avoided in the future?

Answer: First of all let me direct your attention to the fact that with the quadripartite agreement of 3 September 1971 a solution was found which meets the interests of all parties. Annoying disputes about interpretation of the practical inclusion of Berlin (West) can be avoided by acting in accordance with the letter and spirit of this agreement. We are in favor of its strict adherence and full application. The main thing is to preserve the clause according to which Berlin (West) is not part of the FRG and may not be governed by it.

Question: Is this also true of cultural exchanges?

Answer: The question of including Berlin (West) in the cultural agreement, much discussed in the FRG, is of no importance to us whatsoever because Berlin (West) is included in the overall agreements in accordance with the quadripartite agreement of 3 September 1971.

Question: Included on the basis of this agreement?

Answer: There is such a clause; there are no problems at all.

Question: There was a lot of skepticism from West Berlin [as received] at the time the agreement was negotiated.

Answer: Yes, there were reservations. Its conclusion is anxiously anticipated.

Question: At present, many more West German young people are travelling to the GDR than GDR young people to the FRG. Under what conditions would that change?

Answer: I cannot see anything unusual in the fact that more young people from the FRG are travelling to the GDR than the other way around. This is a result even only of the population figures. In addition, there are commercial reasons for this situation, which is due to the different levels of prices in the GDR and the FRG. On the basis of the low prices in the GDR, just consider the cheap cost of food and transportation; several journeys to the GDR have to take place to balance the financial expenditure of a journey to the FRG. That has to be taken into consideration as well.

But I want to emphasize that in general, youth tourism is developing well. Now the emphasis should be placed on comprehensively using the opportunities offered by the existing agreements between the youth organizations in both German states. I would hope that this happens without friction.

Question: What relief, what greater coexistence can the next stage bring the people in both German states? Do you think that it is possible to include West German cities close to the border, such as Hamburg, in local border traffic? That your authorities will permit more journeys to the West in urgent family matters? That you reduce the travelling age for GDR citizens in a sovereign decision? That people who have emigrated to the FRG, who have given up their GDR citizenship and who are often refused visits to their former home, are allowed to travel to the GDR, just as everyone else?

Answer: Well, you know, many things are possible. Nevertheless, one should keep both feet firmly on the ground. Travel between the GDR and the FRG is not as little as some Western media unfortunately like to make out. On the contrary, it is quite extensive. Six to 8 million FRG citizens visit the GDR annually, and more than 1 and 1/2 million GDR citizens visit the FRG. This is understandable in view of the high number of family connections between GDR and FRG citizens.

Journeys between the GDR and the FRG involve not only travel between two states with differing social orders, but also with differing currency systems, a fact which is often underestimated with you. Thus, in trade between the GDR and the FRG, 1 mark is 1 mark. But for travelers the GDR mark is traded well under its value. Then there are a number of questions which I do not want to discuss here in detail, the link between your police and the secret services, for example.

If all this is taken into account in the best meaning of the word one cannot complain about the GDR's lack of readiness to develop travel.

The opposite is the case. The GDR has done much to promote it and will continue to do so. The FRG's willingness to dismantle some relics from the cold war is important. You can not express hopes on one hand and then on the other create difficulties in treating GDR citizens as they are -- namely state citizens of the first socialist workers' and peasants' state on German soil. One can always talk about including this or that city into local border traffic. But with this whole question one must proceed on the basis that more favorable conditions for travel would, of course, exist if the FRG would finally respect this fact -- the state citizenship of the GDR.

Question: Aren't we doing that, Mr Chairman? After all there was an agreement at Werbellinsee between you and former Chancellor Schmidt according to which we would respect GDR citizenship. Although break-downs may occur in the bureaucracy's enforcement of this, it is in fact no longer a problem for us.

Answer: That's what you say, Herr Sommer. That agreement was reached by myself and Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and it referred for example to the return of minors who had somehow crossed the border. We do that all the time. But in the FRG the courts are brought in for welfare provision and so on. I have told Federal Chancellor Kohl that we could instruct our state organs to do the same if a 10-year-old child crossed the border. I am just taking that as one example.

The second question which Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and I reached agreement on concerned the call-up orders to the Bundeswehr for GDR citizens who are temporarily in the Federal Republic. But differences continue to exist in this area.

Question: Hasn't that eased off?

Answer: No, call-up orders are still being sent. Our ambassador Moldt had to comment on this recently.

The next problem is the activities of the FRG embassies and consulates in various countries. The Federal Government's claim that it has responsibility for looking after the welfare of all Germans continues and naturally violates the GDR's personal sovereignty; that is quite obvious. We continue to be interested in reaching a final settlement of this issue.

Question: There is in fact a judgement by the Federal Constitutional Court which in the first instance simply exists. The question is: Could your agreement with Federal Chancellor Schmidt not be put down in writing? It must surely be possible for your councils and ours to formulate matters in such a way that the fundamental question of citizenship is excluded. Furthermore we are not sure what you are actually asking for: in Gera it was still "recognition" and later it was "respect for." Is there a difference?

Answer: I do not see any difference on that issue. One can respect and one can recognize.

It is not a matter of changing the Basic Law, although it could be changed with a two-thirds majority, that I know for sure. The question is simple: One should respect the fact that a German Democratic Republic exists and that this republic has citizens. And one cannot claim, on the basis of a law dating back to William II, that citizens of the GDR are at the same time citizens of the FRG since, according to constitutional principle, the FRG laws are only valid in the FRG's scope of application.

Question: The question is not whether we grant you or deprive you of citizens, but the question is rather that when GDR citizens come to the Federal Republic we do not deny them, in the sphere of validity of the basic law, our German citizenship if they want it.

Answer: We are guided by international law on that issue. The problem is that the Federal Government, including the present one in its official statements, addresses directly the citizens of Leipzig, Dresden, and so on. I could just as well address the citizens of Bonn, Munich, and so on.

Look, we did not create the Federal republic. The Federal Republic was born 5 months before the founding of the GDR. One must therefore proceed on the basis that one should respect the fact that a German state has now emerged. It has afterall been formally recognized and one should act accordingly. That means that the FRG Government is responsible for FRG citizens and the GDR Government is responsible for GDR citizens. If the claim to guardianship was dropped then a great contribution would be made toward improving relations between the two German states. This is the principle at stake.

Question: You want to exercise generosity in the issue of travel on urgent family business. Relatives twice-removed have already been allowed to travel and also for reasons other than those laid down. However there are still uncertainties here. Do issues such as the dispute about the protocol treatment given to People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann in Bonn play a part here?

Answer: That issue appears to me to have been settled now. As far as I know the visit will take place shortly -- respecting the fact that the president of the GDR People's Chamber represents the GDR and should be treated in a corresponding manner. This is what I have been informed. It is no longer an issue.

Progress has obviously been made in the case of visits on urgent family business. There are always hindrances in the affairs of state. We are not without a bureaucracy and nor is the FRG. But I don't want to blame this on the bureaucracy. There is no doubt that one can travel in cases of urgent family matters. Of course it is not as if the head of the secret service will be able to travel then.

Question: He probably would not want to.

Answer: That I do not know.

Question: The visitors from Eisenhuettenstadt to Saarlouis, the agreement on town twinning, the prospect that in this way an exchange of group travellers might come about -- to all this we have paid great attention. Do you consider this project to be a "model case"? Is it the start of many similar twinning agreements?

Answer: On this question there were contradictory reports. A town partnership is obviously a town partnership, and the contents of this partnership will be negotiated. The town deputies of Eisenhuettenstadt and Saarlouis will have to stipulate what they mean by town partnership and how they implement it. But in any case I believe it would be good if this first town twinning were not weighed down by a whole campaign.

Question: Nevertheless, you could imagine that further towns could be twinned with towns in the Federal Republic, including towns outside the Saarland?

Answer: You know, the important thing is to proceed in these matters correctly. I do not believe that all the problems can thus be solved simultaneously. And concerning this, reports in the FRG are correct. However, there are also other reports.

Question: What then is the correct version?

Answer: The correct version is that towns have been twinned as is usual and customary everywhere in the world. Obviously, town twinning cannot replace the government of the GDR and the government of the FRG but it can do quite a lot for bringing about meetings between people from various walks of life.

Question: This is the problem which worries us most: How can more of your citizens travel to us? Why are travels to the West for GDR citizens in everyday life confined to old age pensioners? Why can the age of this category not be gradually lowered and eventually abolished altogether? Some of us ask in this connection: What is more stabilizing or destablizing for the GDR -- a policy of opening up or a policy of retrenchment?

Answer: We pursue neither a policy of opening up nor a policy of retrenchment. There are many aspects to this travel issue. It touches on the fundamental relationship between the two German states. However, it cannot be denied that we have made progress. We have made particular progress on account of the first visit by the then Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt to the GDR. The present CDU/CSU government with the FDP was thus, as it were, able to reap the fruits of that visit. I would recall the opening of the motorway to Hamburg, I would recall the meeting of the construction ministers, I would recall the Schinkel exhibition in Hamburg, and I would remind you of the extension of visits in urgent family matters. We continued this policy after Helmut Kohl had stated that the new Federal Government would continue this policy, and this it has done.

However, things do happen which are not wholly in that spirit on the basis on which the agreements were concluded. I am thinking for instance, of the crass sharpening of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and People's Poland in connection with the motto of the large-scale meeting of expellees "Silesia Is Ours". And this is surely quite clear: We are within an alliance as much as the Federal Republic of Germany is within an alliance, and in this question we obviously side with People's Poland. Furthermore, "Silesia Is Ours" -- what does it mean? Between People's Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany there lies the German Democratic Republic. These claims are not only unrealistic but they also create unrest. True, afterwards the slogan was quickly dropped, but it obviously aroused attention.

Seen from this angle I would therefore like to say that many things are working very well, others less so, and obviously efforts must be made to create an atmosphere in which cooperation between the two German states becomes something normal. If you will just recall the discussion whether or not the People's Chamber president may or may not come. Such a thing does not exist in any country. The People's Chamber president was a guest of the French president, the Spanish king, the Austrian federal president, the Finnish president, and so on, wherever he went. All these questions simply did not arise. But in the Federal Republic of Germany a gigantic discussion was held.

Either the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic are developing on an equal basis, which then is good for the two German states and the atmosphere in Europe, or there are, let us say, ripples, in which case it may not be surprising that some things change.

Question: A few years ago in Gera you asked a number of things of the Federal Republic recognition of the GDR citizenship, changing the mutual permanent missions into embassies, fixing the Elbe frontier in the center of the river, closing the registry in Salzgitter. What urgency do you attach to these demands today? Are you aiming at long-term objectives or are you aiming at their realization in the short term?

Answer: All of this involves basic questions of the relations between the GDR and FRG. Anyone honestly interested in effective steps for the normalization of relations must also help step by step to solve these basic issues. This is on the agenda, as also proved by the present discussion in the FRG. This also applies to the Federal Government's refusal to respect the GDR citizenship, on which I have already commented.

Likewise, fixing the course of the frontier on the Elbe would not be a problem if it were not turned into one. There has been a practice of over 40 years in which neither side would have to give up anything. But fixing the frontier would have a beneficial influence on the whole climate of relations and such problems as shipping on this important transport route, as well as on the improvement of the water quality of the river.

Meanwhile the number of those in the FRG has also risen and those who see the so-called Salzgitter registry as a relic of the cold war, as an institution which challenged GDR sovereignty, as an instrument of interference in our internal affairs, as has been said, have therefore called for its closure.

Changing the permanent missions to embassies would merely respond to the demand of the present day.

Question: German-German trade in 1985 reached a record volume of over DM15 billion. What significance do economic relations between the GDR and Federal Republic have for you?

Answer: Trade between the GDR and FRG reached, according to preliminary documents, even a volume of 17 billion marks. So, it has been developing well, and we are in favor of developing it for mutual benefit. We consider it as an important, stabilizing factor for overall relations. Sound trade and economic relations are in both our interests. Therefore, both sides should do everything necessary in order to create the conditions for its expansion. We are willing to do this.

Apart from this, I want to add that the GDR is a trading partner appreciated everywhere in the world, with an economy which is developing dynamically. Also testifying to this are the 1985 results with a 4.8 percent growth rate in the national income, a development which is assessed as considerable even in expert circles. Our 5-year plan has been concluded well, and the GDR is preparing, with visible achievements in science, technology and production, to tackle successfully the qualitatively new demands on products and technologies.

Question: What new things will the party congress in April bring for GDR citizens?

Answer: The focus of the party congress will of course be: first, our contribution to safeguard peace; second, the further dynamic development of the GDR national economy; and third, the continuation of our social program for the years 1986 to 1990.

In our plans we provide for an 4.5 percent annual increase in the national income. I am saying 4 to 5 percent since there is not yet a resolution on this, in which 90 percent of the increase will be brought about through raised labor productivity. Such an annual increase in labor productivity can obviously be achieved only through the introduction of new technological processes, through microelectronics, optoelectronics, sensor technology and so forth.

In connection with this a transformation of the productive forces will, of course, also take place to some extent. In fact, we are already saving some 500 million working hours every year. This corresponds to about 300,000 workers.

This process we intend to continue. This means that during the next 5-year plan from 1986 to 1990, which will be discussed at the 11th Party Congress, we shall have a national income of M1.3 trillion. This is an immense sum, hardly conceivable. However, it is in this direction that our industry and agriculture will be developing.

In this context, the development of our social policy must, obviously, take place. Our draft plan provides for an annual 4 percent rise in net income with, simultaneously stable prices for everyday goods, which make up about 80 percent of retail trade turnover; prices for the remaining 20 percent are governed by supply and demand. Naturally, retail trade will also grow by 4 to 5 percent.

Furthermore we intend, having already built or modernized 2.4 million homes since 1971, to build or modernize over one million homes between 1986 and 1990. We hope to have solved the housing question as a social problem by 1990, whereby rents will remain as low as before. I am mentioning this because I read only yesterday about the recent increases in the Federal Republic. In our country the rent is 80 pfenning to 1.20 marks per square meter with Leipziger Strasse probably at 1.20. That is a small proportion of wages.

Question: How helpful, how important is trade between the two German states in all this?

Answer: We carry out 70 percent of our trade with the socialist countries. The annual turnover of our trade with the Soviet Union alone amounts to R15 billion. Thirty percent of our trade is with the non-socialist countries. We want to stick to this proportion whereby the overall volume will naturally increase.

Question: In which areas could economic cooperation expand?

Answer: There is still plenty of scope for expanding economic cooperation. Thus the trade structure is in need of improvement. Trade would also benefit from the FRG eliminating certain obstacles and restrictions which date partly from the occupation period.

Question: What obstacles and restrictions do you mean?

Answer: First, the quotas on the goods we deliver to the Federal Republic. Invitations for tenders are made. There is no free trade, but a quota system: so and so many oil products, so and so many consumer goods, so and so much of it.

Second, there is no freedom of payment transactions between the GDR and the Federal Republic. Here, the 1 November 1949 Military Government Law No 53 is again applied. GDR citizens have accounts with billions of marks in FRG banks which are blocked.

Question: Can you envisage joint ventures in third countries?

Answer: We are in favor of developing effective norms by long-term cooperation in third markets. There are already individual projects in Ethiopia and Algeria, and, I would like to stress, in some cases good cooperation exists between companies.

Question: In your view, how should and could the arms race in Europe and the arms race between the two alliance systems in general, be limited?

Answer: The best thing is to sit at a table and discuss Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals for freeing the world from nuclear weapons by the year 2000. The three-stage plan he submitted points to a feasible path. In the first stage, according to his proposal, the USSR and the United States will start reducing nuclear arms; in the second stage, not later than 1990, the other nuclear powers will join the disarmament process; and in the third stage, until the end of 1999, the elimination of all nuclear weapons will be completed. Mutually acceptable and strictly verifiable agreements would guarantee that they will not resurface. This means that mankind would enter the third millenium without nuclear weapons.

It is urgent that the arms spiral first of all be halted. This could take place above all through a halt to nuclear weapons tests, since this would "dry up" the qualitative development of nuclear weapons. It would be a start; a long path begins with the first step. The Soviet Union has in effect already taken that first step with its unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, which has now been extended to 31 March 1986. Hopefully the United States will not close its mind to this.

Further possibilities for lessening military confrontation and reducing armed forces and armaments are provided by the Stockholm conference and the Vienna negotiations. Mikhail Gorbachev's program also includes very far-reaching proposals for this which also include Western ideas.

The new Soviet initiative has met with a strong world-wide response. Only a few days ago the Palme Commission for Disarmament and Security Questions, at its session in New Delhi, praised Gorbachev's three-stage plan as far-reaching and constructive. Great attention should be paid to this document. Early agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the comprehensive ban of nuclear weapons tests, and for the facilitation of negotiations on this for a joint and verifiable moratorium on nuclear explosions are called for. At the same time the commission called for a treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on the ban of the development, testing and deployment of space weapons and of weapons which threaten space objects.

This body consists of well-known personages from 17 states, whose expertise and judgment are highly respected. I will mention only SPD politician Egon Bahr, Soviet scientist Georgiy Arbatov, former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Chairman of the Netherlands Labor Party Joop den Uyl, and former Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland. In the nuclear age, the commission emphasized, there is no sensible alternative to negotiations and cooperation. The idea of gaining military superiority has to be abandoned. In this we fully and wholeheartedly concur.

Today, every state, whether large or small, and all political forces are challenged to reflect on this and to make their own efforts in order to overcome the situation which is dangerous for everyone. Many an idea, abandoned previously, ought to be reexamined; but new things too should be done to solve problems in the interest of all peoples. Instead of perishing together in a nuclear war, we should learn to live together. But not only that. We should also learn to get along well together.

Question: You have called for a chemical weapons-free zone in Europe, as well as for the nuclear-free zone proposed by Olof Palme. What scope for verification would you be prepared to grant?

Answer: Anyone who wants to disarm must also be prepared for verification. Both the Mikhail Gorbachev program as well as our proposal for the creation of a chemical weapons-free zone in Europe provide for verification, right up to on-site verification.

We will accept whatever is necessary to verify adherence to treaty obligations for disarmament. Obviously the type and extent of verification depends on the purpose of the treaty. We will permit such verification as is accepted by the other treaty partners. Here too the principle of equality and mutual security applies. The Federal Government could sound out our general willingness in detail if it were prepared to support the proposal of the GDR and CSSR to start negotiations on a chemical weapons-free zone.

Question: Does your willingness to accept "on-site" verification point to a fundamental new attitude?

Answer: In this we have come closer to the Western proposals, since the issue of verification has always played a large role. Thus, the Soviet Union has incorporated the proposals, which came from the Western side, which state that if a nuclear test were carried out it could also be checked on site. Concerning a chemical weapons-free zone, we also proposed on-site verification to check if a factory produces chemical weapons, if chemical weapons are destroyed, and so forth. This would be a great step forward. Our position was also somewhat altered in this regard. We have met the West's proposals to open up opportunities to ensure that progress is made in the negotiations, whether in Vienna, Stockholm or Geneva.

Question: What do you expect from the negotiations between the SED and the SPD on these questions? Should your efforts not be addressed to the Federal Government?

Answer: I should like to remind you that the GDR proposed to your government 3 years ago that negotiations begin to create a corridor free of nuclear battlefield weapons based on the Swedish considerations. However, the "addressee" of our proposal stated that this was no subject for discussion. At the time I emphasized that this proposal is still on the table. We continue to proceed from the premise that the Swedish "corridor proposal" deserves to be considered and realized. This is in the interest of the two German states, and not only of these. It would be an important step toward confidence-building and arms limitation.

If the FRG Government reacts negatively then it is not surprising that other political forces take up this subject. We are conducting talks with the SPD to find -- as with chemical-weapon free zones -- common starting points for solutions to vitally important questions, to provide a political impetus to government negotiations, and finally to achieve agreements to establish zones free of nuclear weapons.

Question: The two German states suffer most from what in differing definitions is described as counterarming and counter counterarming. What can you do, individually and collectively, to persuade the superpowers, the United States and the USSR to reduce nuclear medium-range missiles in your sphere?

Answer: Basically all European peoples are suffering from the developments introduced by the Brussels missile decision. Nor has the United States gained anything from it because in the world today more weapons mean not more, but less security and this applies to all states. The USSR leadership also takes this view. No one need therefore convince them of the need to end the arms race on earth and prevent it in space.

This also applies to the reduction of operational-tactical missiles which have been stationed in the GDR as a countermeasure to the U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. It is settled that the latter will be withdrawn when the reasons for stationing them disappear. In other words, if the FRG could persuade the United States to reduce its medium-range nuclear missiles, then the relevant missiles would also be reduced in the GDR.

I am referring to the fact that the USSR has already allowed for a decision in the first stage of its disarmament program on the total elimination of the USSR and U.S. medium-range missiles in the European zone, both ballistic and cruise missiles, as a first step toward freeing our continent from nuclear weapons.

In any case the two German states should urge that valid treaties on arms limitation are adhered to and for their part desist from anything which could lead to a further twisting of the arms spiral.

Question: If the United States and the USSR agree to a "zero option" on medium-range missiles, will missiles which were stationed on your territory after the start of counterarming also be withdrawn?

Answer: They will disappear.

Question: So not only the SS-20 missiles would disappear but also the shorter range nuclear weapons stationed in the GDR?

Answer: They would disappear if the reasons for stationing them no longer existed.

Question: So you can add the reduction of these weapons to the Gorbachev offer which they are not mentioned in?

Answer: Yes, you can.

Question: You repeatedly refer to the dangers associated with U.S. SDI research and participation in it by FRG firms. The Soviets are however conducting similar research. How do you explain your opposition to the U.S. space plans? Do you fear a change in NATO's defense concept?

Answer: The claim that the USSR is conducting similar research is clearly designed to conjure up an alibi for the U.S. "star wars" program. If you take the USSR proposals for what they are, you arrive at the conclusion that the best course for not only West Germans but mankind is that a start is made on disarmament on earth and that the expansion of armaments into space is renounced.

SDI gives the already threatening danger of a nuclear holocaust a space dimension and ultimately leads to an opening up of the arms race in all directions. Incidentally we are not the only ones to take this view. Numerous former presidents, defense ministers, and other representatives of the United States, above all scientists, have expressed serious warnings and declared their unequivocal opposition. In the FRG, opinion surveys also show that the majority of Federal citizens are against participation in these insane arms plans, which chase after the illusion of supremacy and bring the world closer and closer to the brink of a nuclear inferno.

The insistence by the United States on its space arms program is hindering progress in disarmament talks today. In fact, the arms race is stimulated, the arms mountains are continuing to grow. As I said, greater security cannot be achieved this way; on the contrary, the world is becoming more insecure, the international situation more unpredictable. Negative effects on economic and scientific-technical cooperation between East and West can already be felt. How much worse this situation will be if there is no success in stopping this disastrous development.

We hope that in the FRG, too, the last word has not been spoken about playing into the hands of such a development. No documents have yet been signed which would firmly include the FRG in the U.S. "star wars" program.

We are, of course, filled with concern that certain forces in NATO support the dangerous course of the United States; that there, too, the effort is being made to stockpile new weapons under the guise of defense. But we hope that increasing numbers of realistically thinking forces will oppose this madness. We will continue to direct our efforts toward helping reason and realism to gain the upper hand.

Question: You warn -- the Federal Government or whoever -- the FRG against being included in the U.S. "star wars" program. Is this the case if a number of firms take part in two dozen research orders worth between $2.5 million and $25 million over 6 years? That would not be participation by the Federal Government in some "star wars" program but the attempt to link up with a technological adventure in which one might learn a couple of things.

Answer: I spoke with Federal Chancellor Kohl about the fact that participation by the FRG in SDI would not reduce tensions in the world but rather increase them. We have nothing against research for peaceful purposes. We suggested to the FRG that it take a more active part in research for peaceful purposes and not in the SDI program. This SDI program was, after all, initially announced by Mr Reagan as a"star wars" program. At that time they wanted to destroy the "evil empire" and that was the Soviet Union. Then it was meant to deliver the "knock-out punch." Later it was renamed "strategic defense initiative." But that is camouflage, because it is a project with which one speculates for a first strike, and that first strike would have fatal consequences for mankind. After all, the United States has so far still refused to commit itself not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

As far as the firms are concerned, we are well aware, of course, that there are multinational concerns, that various firms are undertaking research in this or that field. But the important thing is always the aim of the research. Is the research undertaken for peaceful purposes or for military use? And why is it absolutely necessary to take part in the war preparations in America when there are opportunities for research for peaceful purposes such as Eureka or even cooperation with Interkosmos? We are taking part in space research, after all, including laser research, and we do have experts in this field.

Question: From our point of view it is, of course, not participation in preparing a war, but at most participating in research meant to prevent a war. But in general: One can understand that you were immensely concerned about the new medium-range weapons being stationed in Western Europe, above all in the FRG.

Answer: Above all, because as a result we had nuclear weapons on our territory for the first time.

Question: But participation in SDI is something quite different. If seven firms are taking part in a laboratory program this does not immediately alter the balance.

Answer: We are against creating the conditions for pursuing a so-called "star wars." Why? The main content of the joint Soviet-American declaration is the disarmament question. Would it not be much more reasonable to allow for negotiations in this period in the first instance and then to settle the question of participation or non-participation by the Federal Government -- that is, to direct the FRG's entire authority -- as is done with the GDR's authority, toward results in negotiations and then to make the decisions, and not just to throw oneself blindly into the torrent without knowing how one will get out again later on?

Question: Would you want to exclude West German firms who participate in SDI research from trade between the FRG and the GDR?

Answer: We proceed on the basis of reality. Research is carried out in various laboratories and the multinational companies are undertaking very substantial research. As for these concerns, I would like to mention the following example: I have received a delegation from the metal-workers of Saarlouis. A Ford car is being manufactured in Saarlouis. But it's an American car. We wanted to buy 10,000 of them there. But it wasn't possible because the sales department of the firm is in Cologne and not in Saarlouis. We notified the plant committee of this. This means that under the conditions of the economic situation in the FRG one cannot decide whether German captital or American capital is involved. This question is therefore in my view of secondary importance.

The Federal Government's stance on the SDI program is decisive and the Federal Government at present is among the few to approve the program, while the majority of the Western European countries, including NATO countries, either oppose the SDI program or are reserving judgement until the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union bear fruit.

Nor will you find any threats in the letter I wrote last year to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, just the remark that we are not doing anything to worsen the situation but are on the contrary promoting everything which leads to a reduction in confrontation and and which leads to cooperation. We see this as the decisive issue.

Question: In reading your biography it strikes one how much you longed for a united antifascist front in your youth. At the time, this united front was to be aimed against fascism. Today when the issue is nuclear war, one asks oneself whether you retain the longings of your youth. This united front which you sought at the time not only included communists, socialists, and social-democrats, but also Christians. Are Christians in the GDR allies for you in matters of peace?

Answer: Absolutely, and not just in the GDR, but throughout the world. But what you were saying about longings -- well, with me intellect is coupled with emotions. After Kalinin, one has to be enthusiastic about the cause; it is not enough to be convinced, one must be enthusiastic about it.

In the struggle to safeguard peace we are in favor of a coalition of reason and realism.

Question: "Dissolution of the blocs" was once a slogan. Do you regard as realistic such a dissolution of the military pacts or even merely a disengagement of the blocs -- as suggested 30 years ago by the Pole, Rapacki, and the American, Kennan.

Answer: The Warsaw Pact contains a clause on its dissolution in the event of the creation of an all-European system of collective security. It is well known that this treaty was extended last year without alterations. We continue to regard a simultaneous dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and NATO -- or, as an initial measure, that of their military organizations -- as possible. We are at the same time prepared to take smaller steps. The creation of zones free of chemical and nuclear weapons could help contribute to this. The political will to move forward in this direction is decisive. On the basis of respect for equality and equal security there should be no questions which cannot be solved.

Question: You were born in West Germany, at a time when there was no division. A year ago you appealed to Federal Chancellor Kohl in a letter "on behalf of the German people." What passes through your mind when you say "German people." When you hear "Germany," when you use the concept of the "nation?"

Answer: Naturally, I see it as meaning something different from your sports writers meaning. If you take a look around our country you will soon see that we place great value on historical consciousness. This, natrually, is quite distinct from history lessons in the "kaiser's age" and also from those of the Weimar Republic. Once certain dates had to be learned by heart in history lessons. The periods were mainly marked out from one war to another. In the GDR things are different and this causes irritation in the FRG which need not arise. In the GDR there is not only a museum of German history; our historians are also working on the history of the German people and are gaining new insights. No one can disregard the reality of the existence of two states on German soil, the GDR and the FRG. Everything else is derived from that fact.

Question: The GDR rediscovered German history beyond the history of the German revolutionary movements. The statue of the Prussian King Frederik II stands again in Unter den Linden, in Luther Year tribute was paid to the reformer. A new biography draws a fascinatingly objective picture of Otto von Bismarck. Why, then, do you reject any cooperation between both parts of Berlin for the 750th anniversary celebrations?

Answer: Cross out the word "rediscovered." You cannot make the GDR responsible for the lack of historical awareness in parts of your media. In 1945 and the following years it was first of all necessary to overcome the suffocating material and ideological legacies of fascism, to bring about the final day of reckoning with the unhappy past and its representatives. I am thinking particularly of the expropriation of the Nazi and war criminals, to democratically renew life. In this we sought the support of the revolutionary, progressive traditions of the German people and at the same time faced up to the totality of the historical legacy. You can see this from the 11 June 1945 appeal by the KPD Central Committee and from the appeal supporting it by the SPD Central Committee on 15 June 1945.

It is news to me that we reject any cooperation for the 750th anniversary celebrations of Berlin. If you look around you here in the center of Berlin, you will see that as a result of the talks between the GDR Government and the relevant offices in Berlin (West) the statues from the former Schloss bridge have returned to their former positions. In return, the GDR Government gave the archives of the royal Prussian porcelain manufacturers back to the Berlin (West) authorities, since it used to be located there.

At present, further efforts are being made to return to each other the things which formerly were on either the territory of the GDR capital or of Berlin (West). But so far, no agreement has been reached about those cultural treasures belonging to our national gallery which were illegally given to the so-called Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation. We would be happy if those portraits and sculptures were returned to their former place in the GDR capital for the 750th anniversary celebrations. As you see, things are sometimes different from the way they are presented.

As you know, a representative committee was formed here to prepare the 750th anniversary celebrations, of which I took on the chairmanship. A group of our historians worked out theses for the 750th anniversary celebrations, which have been published. It can be seen from all this that we know how to pay tribute to the history of Berlin as it exists.

Of course the permanent inhabitants of Berlin (West) have the opportunity of coming to the GDR capital for the 750th anniversary celebrations and also to take part in various events and to visit exhibitions. Berlin will be open to visitors from all over the world.

However, that does not entitle us on the occasion of the 750th anniversary celebrations to close our eyes to the realities as they have developed historically and exist today. There is Berlin, the capital of the GDR, there is Berlin (West) and the settlement of the questions which was reached in connection with the 3 September 1971 Quadrilateral Agreement on Berlin (West). In this we cannot ignore that Berlin (West), in contrast to the capital of the GDR, is under occupation law.

Question: Recently, there was much talk in the FRG about "keeping the German question open." What is your comment on this debate?

Answer: I consider this debate to be superfluous. If one approaches the complex of problems this entails with an open mind, then I would like to say that it is positive good luck for mankind that there are two German states. Pangermanism always was a disaster for the peoples of Europe and not only for them.

Question: Do you still consider German unification a historical possibility? Is it a final state toward which you are aiming on a socialist basis? Or do you see division as the inevitable fate of our fatherland?

Answer: Your question is ambiguous. You know very well that in 1945 and later we supported a unified democratic state. That could not prevent, however, despite the Potsdam agreement, the birth of the FRG in May 1949 at the order of the Western allies. Five months later the foundation of the GDR followed. The points for the future were set at that time. Today the existence of two German states is a central element of European stability and of the international balance of forces. Those who seek to shake that are endangering peace.

Question: Is a peace treaty still a goal worth striving for in your view? Could it settle the frontier questions once and for all?

Answer: I don't think any serious politician, in East or West, regards a peace treaty as a serious proposition. It is well known that in the 1950's the Soviet Union made more than one suggestion for a peace treaty. The then FRG Government and the three Western powers rejected these proposals, which many in the FRG today regard as a missed opportunity. The wheel of history has long since left this problem behind.

What could a peace treaty settle now anyway? All the major issues are already settled. The system of European treaties, including the Quadrilateral Agreement on Berlin (West) now exists. This system of European treaties is a basic element of European security and the peace order. The Helsinki Final Act has underlined multilaterally the territorial status quo. It has thus created binding and permanent legal foundations and norms of conduct. Since then the frontier questions have been settled once and for all, quite apart from the fact that the German Reich with its 1937 frontiers perished in the flames of World War II. To speak today of so-called reservations concerning a peace treaty means negating realities and promoting revanchist wishful-thinking.

Question: According to opinion surveys in the FRG, you are astoundingly popular. How do you explain this?

Answer: I regard it as an expression of a certain change of mentality toward the GDR in the FRG. I experienced this myself during my travels, for example to Italy, and also in Greece. People gave me a very warm welcome.

Question: You mean West German tourists?

Answer: I mean meetings with FRG tourists from Osnabruck, Frankfurt, Munich, Stuttgart and wherever else they came from. In Crete people waited for 2 hours in the heat when they heard we would be on the beach for a short while. There were large crowds. I talked to them and I must say that they were very open-minded people who most probably were members of various parties.

Question: Doesn't that show that a sense of shared interests still exists, a feeling that although we are two states, we are nevertheless one nation? And wouldn't that also give you the right to address a message of greetings to people in Stuttgart, Mannheim, Wiebelskirchen, and Dortmund in your New Year address?

Answer: That depends how you look at it. I see it as a conviction that is increasingly gaining ground among FRG citizens that there are two states on German soil and that one simply accepts the GDR's existence and supports our policy, which is aimed at cooperation.

Question: Are you moved by the human contact you felt there? Will you perhaps be more moved by it than the next generation, which is gradually moving into top posts in the GDR?

Answer: I don't think so. You know, one's birthplace does not determine one's political conviction. Not even one's family determines political convictions. You have the best example of this in the FRG: a Vogel in the SPD, a Vogel in the CDU, one as a prime minister, the other a group chairman. I don't think that has anything to do with birthplace. I should add, however, that our family has always been communist and remains so in the FRG.

What did I want to say in that context? What moves me in all these meetings is that I believe I detect a certain change among FRG citizens, that the existence of the GDR is accepted. The GDR is the first socialist state on German soil and if you look around the GDR you will see that a great relationship of trust exists between the GDR party and state leadership and citizens.

Question: If partition continues to be the fate of our people, should it not then be made more bearable, human, cooperative? Can you envisage that one day the walls and barriers will fall -- as the self-firing devices and minefields have been dismantled in the last 2 years?

Answer: I am all in favor of developing relations between the GDR and the FRG more cooperatively. That is also contained in our various proposals to the FRG Government. It has been useful in all this to allow oneself to be guided by the norms of international law in relations between the two German states. The walls and barriers will only exist as long as the conditions exist which make them necessary, as I told U.S. members of Congress not long ago.

Question: Mr State Council Chairman, finally, the unavoidable question: Will you visit the FRG this year?

Answer: I can only reaffirm what has been said repeatedly: The visit will take place at a time which both sides consider useful. It is useless to keep speculating about this again and again.

REAGAN'S STATE OF UNION ADDRESS REPORTED

LD050956 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 5 Feb 86

[Text] Ronald Reagan, president of the United States, has held his annual State of the Union speech. Our correspondent Elmer Csak reports from New York:

Money was the chief topic of the U.S. President's speech which, according to tradition, he delivered to Congress on the State of the Union. Reagan once again called for an end to the budget deficit, held out the prospect of the review of welfare assistance and the improvement of health insurance; he committed himself not to raise taxes and proposed the convening of the International Conference on Currency Affairs. Speaking about the utilization of money, the President dealt separately with arms spending; alleging that the Soviet threat continues, he urged the maintenance of the level of the military budget. Reagan once again took a stand on the side of strategic arms initiative, that is, space armaments. In connection with Geneva, he said: A nuclear arms reduction agreement depends exclusively on the Soviet Union. Finally, the U.S. President stated that the United States will not only support but also help the so-called freedom fighters in the territories of Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, and Nicaragua to succeed. He announced that he asked Congress shortly to take appropriate measures.

FALUVEGI LECTURES ON MAIN INDUSTRIAL TRENDS IN FRG

LD311146 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 31 Jan 86

[Text] Budapest, January 30 (MTI) -- Lajos Faluvegi, vice-chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers and president of the National Planning Office, who paid an unofficial visit to the FRG on the invitation of the Federation of German Industry on January 27-30, returned to Budapest on Thursday.

Lajos Faluvegi gave a lecture on the main industrial development trends and the country's external economic relations to industrialists in Cologne. He had talks with Martin Bangemann, minister of economies, Gerhard Stoltenberg, minister of finance, and Heinz Riesenhuber, minister of research and technology, and representatives of FRG financial circles.

Invited by the president of the Bavarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Lajos Faluvegi gave a similar lecture in Munich. He met Anton Jaumann, Bavarian minister of state for economy and communication.

LOSONCZI, LAZAR CONDUCT TALKS WITH ARGENTINA'S CAPUTO

LD041325 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, has received Foreign Minister Dante Caputo of Argentina, who is in Hungary on an official visit. At the meeting the two sides stressed the importance of dialogue between countries with different social systems. They expressed their commitment to expanding bilateral cooperation. The Argentine politician handed over a letter from President Alfonsin to Pal Losonczi, in which he invites the president of the Presidential Council to pay an official visit.

Today Gyorgy Lazar also conducted talks with the foreign minister of Argentina about the expansion of political, economic and trade relations between the two countries.

TRYBUNA LUDU LINKS SHUTTLE, SPACE MILITARIZATION

AU041024 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 86 p 7

[Tomasz Miecik commentary: "Catastrophe Over the Atlantic"]

[Text] The disaster of the American space shuttle Challenger has shocked public opinion. Every setback is a shock to some extent, but what happened over Cape Canaveral is particularly shocking.

In many countries American space shuttle missions have caused -- to put it mildly -- mixed feelings. We know from American sources themselves that 20 percent of shuttle flights are reserved for military purposes and that of the 25 missions so far, only some have been used for civilian tests. In any case, one could have expected a military application of the shuttles because apart from NASA, the Pentagon took part in planning and financing them.

Progressing space commercialization and NASA's adoption of shuttle flight program that combines commercial, scientific, and military activities have also aroused controversary. The military activities were to include experiments with the SDI program, known as "star wars."

But the tool for realizing these goals, the shuttle, has caused universal wonder. For a sum three times the cost of the moon program, space vehicles were built (the first was Columbia) which have opened up a new chapter in space exploration technology. Of course, there have been varying degrees of trouble with individual missions, but the computers have always corrected them in time by bringing remedial measures into operation.

This time, unfortunately, the control systems failed both before the launch and during the flight. It came to tragedy. This forcibly brings to mind a speech by one of the participants in the Warsaw Congress of Intellectuals who, speaking on the imperfection of computers, said computers have already supplied 4,000 false bits of information on an alleged commencement of nuclear hostilities as well as 147 bits of information which caused an alert that was close to pressing the "button" and starting a world catastrophe.

Right now we may only speculate about the causes of the Challenger disaster. However, much food for thought is provided by the fact that NASA has operated its four shuttles hurriedly, curtailed some flights to launch the following ones more quickly, changed the order of flights, and so on -- all this so that it could meet its commitments to its contractors, who had demanded 30 shuttle flights a year. In the meantime, it has only been possible to fit 6 such missions into a single year.

The Challenger explosion of course ruled out any space rescue mission, but are rescues at all possible? Of course there are such plans, and maybe they will be implemented when the countries taking part in the conquest of space, chiefly the USSR and United States, establish cooperation. In the meantime, the "space rescue service" is not functioning badly in finding victims of sea and air disasters by means of satellite equipment.

During the first reactions of the Challenger disaster, it was said that despite everything the space exploration program will continue. And that is how it will surely be. What is more, space shuttles will continue to be used, albeit modified ones. Work on this is in progress in the Soviet Union (one congress on astronautics has even said that the program is going to be called "Albatross", and Western European countries have adopted a space shuttle program called "Hermes.")

For nothing will stop man's parade into space. One can only wish that he reaches out to terrestrial space to his own advantage and success. This way, the lives of all the pioneers following this trail will not be in vain.

ARMS CONTROL REPRESENTATIVES ON GORBACHEV PLAN

Turbanski in Geneva

LD041600 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 4: Poland's representative at the 40 nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva Stanislaw Turbanski told TRYBUNA LUDU that the latest plan by Mikhail Gorbachev was a significant impulse in disarmament negotiations. He elaborated:

"I think that among the existing multilateral disarmament negotiations the Gorbachev plan refers to the largest extent to the Geneva disarmament conference. Suffice it to recall that the conference's agenda gives prominence to such issues as a nuclear tests ban, a stop to the nuclear arms race, nuclear disarmament and prevention of a nuclear war. In these fields, the plan undoubtedly creates new possibilities not only for other reductions until a complete elimination of nuclear weapons, but also for such important matters as halting nuclear tests and a system of effective control.

"The connection between the Soviet programme and the work of the Disarmament Conference is even more evident in tne work on a chemical weapons ban, where the negotiations are at relatively most advanced state. [sentence as received]

"One should also say that the conference has been working for a few years now on an agreement on a comprehensive disarmament programme. I have no doubts that also in this field the proposals of the Gorbachev plan will be both an impulse to complete work and a possibility to enrich it."

Przygodzki in Vienna

AU031345 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 86 p 7

[Interview with Ambassador Stanislaw Przygodzki to TRYBUNA LUDU: "Poland's Representative About Gorbachev's Plan -- A Chance for Breakthrough in Vienna" -- date not given; first two paragraphs are TRYBUNA LUDU introduction]

[Text] The TRYBUNA LUDU editorial board asked Ambassador Stanislaw Przygodzki, who represents Poland at the Vienna MBFR negotiations whose 38th round begins on 30 January, to make a statement on the importance of the program for nuclear disarmament up to the year 2000. The program was presented by M. Gorbachev on 15 January of this year.

Below are the replies we received by telex in connection with our questions.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] How do you evaluate the significance of the disarmament proposals put forward by CPSU Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev?

[Przygodzki] First of all, presenting a vision of the world free from nuclear weapons and thus from the specter of a nuclear catastrophe, M. Gorbachev presents a very concrete and realistic program for implementing this vision before the end of this century.

The program, which is phased in time, takes into account existing realities and security interests of all countries. Stressing that the USSR and the United States are mainly responsible for world peace, the program proposes that these two states should begin the process of nuclear disarmament and creates suitable conditions for other nuclear powers to join in. There is nothing in the Soviet proposals in conflict with the principle of equal security of countries.

Observers of the disarmament issues have also noted the concrete proposals on various forms of verification, including international procedures and on-the-spot inspection [kontrol]. As you know, it was precisely the inspection problem that was frequently exploited by the West as a pretext for criticizing and rejecting the proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries.

[TRYBUNA LUDU] In your view, what specific impact will the Soviet disarmament proposals have on the Vienna negotiations?

[Przygodzki] The Soviet proposals are of most crucial significance for the Vienna negotiations on mutual reductions in armed forces and armaments in central Europe. These negotiations are over 12 years old. The very submission of the Soviet proposals has helped to improve the atmosphere and has indicated the USSR's determination to continue to implement in practice what we call the "spirit of Geneva." The prolongation for a further 3 months of the one-sided moratorium on all nuclear tests is a particularly important new demonstration of the USSR's good will. M. Gorbachev's proposals also contain specific references: They stress the resolve of the USSR and its allies to take the Vienna negotiations to a successful conclusion and indicate that if the other side really wants this to happen, then 1986 could become a significant year along the road of these negotiations.

The readiness to agree on the necessary means of controlling an eventual accord on reductions of the Soviet and American troops in central Europe and of verifying the subsequent freezing of the level of the armed forces of the two sides in the area has also been tried here. Taking into account a certain recent evolution in the present position of the West in the Vienna negotiations, we may hope that the 38th round will not become yet another round of lost opportunities, but will prove to be a turning point and a beginning of fruitful and meaningful negotiations leading as soon as possible to working out an accord on lowering the level of military confrontation in central Europe.

The Polish delegation will join the negotiations, which reopen on 31 January, with precisely such hopes and with the intention of making a specific and constructive contribution to them.

Konarski in Stockholm

AU301434 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Jan 86 p 5

[Interview with Ambassador Wlodzimierz Konarski, Polish delegate at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, by Ewa Boniecka: "Concerning the System of Confidence in Europe" -- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Boniecka] Mr Ambassador, 2 years have elapsed since the start of the conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Stockholm. What can be said right now about the prospects for the success of this conference, which is so important for improving international relations, especially in Europe?

[Konarski] Just like every other international conference of such political importance, the Stockholm conference depends to a considerable extent on the state of relations between its participants, in other words the 35 Eastern and Western states that signed the CSCE Final Act.

These relations have clearly changed for the better over the past 2 years. Nevertheless, I would like to stress that the Stockholm conference not only reflects the state of these relations but also helps shape them, as well as other activities both within and outside the framework of the disarmament talks. Let us remember that when the foreign ministers opened the Stockholm talks in January 1984, East-West relations, which were tense, did not augur a rapid success for the conference. Today the prospects for accord in Stockholm are already becoming more real.

[Boniecka] No doubt Mikhail Gorbachev's latest proposals will bear particular importance?

[Konarski] Without a doubt. I think they may even exert a decisive influence on the Stockholm negotiations. There were quite promising remarks about the Stockholm conference already in the joint statement following the Geneva summit. What is more, with its latest initiative, the USSR has clearly given the whole talks impetus. This clearly shows the Soviet side's goodwill and authentic aim to reach accord. But to solve the remaining difficult problems, the United States and NATO must also display goodwill. They still have not done so in a convincing way. The significance of the Soviet initiatives in relation to the Stockholm conference is also based on the fact that they are a necessary motivation which facilitates other concrete steps aimed at the essential compromise.

[Boniecka] Does Poland have any particular interests in Stockholm?

[Konarski] Yes, the building of a stable and safe Europe, which has been the objective of Polish diplomacy ever since the war. This also applies to the entire CSCE process. Polish diplomacy has had its special place in this process from the very start. Our diplomacy has stood out with its energy in presenting our raisons d'etat and interests, its desire to make changes, and its efforts to work out favorable accords for the whole of Europe. We can regard ourselves as the joint initiators of the CSCE process. Together with the socialist community, we brought about the convening of the Stockholm conference. We have not always and not everywhere succeeded in carrying out our proposals, but we have tried always and everywhere to show our realism and constructive aim to reach accord in Europe. All this has contributed to the lasting achievements and advantages bestowed on Polish foreign policy by our participation in the CSCE process.

RAKOWSKI-LED SEJM GROUP ARRIVES IN LONDON

LD031943 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Feb 86

[Text] A delegation of Polish parliamentarians, headed by Deputy Marshal Mieczyslaw Rakowski, has arrived in London at the invitation of the British Interparliamentary Union. This is the first such Polish visit to Great Britain for 10 years. The deputies will meet British politicians and members of parliament.

5-YEAR TRADE AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH ALBANIA

AU011710 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 1 Feb 86

[Text] Tirana, February 1 (ATA) -- The agreement on the exchange of goods and payments for 1986-1990 period and the protocol on the exchange of goods and payments for 1986 between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Government of the People's Republic of Poland was signed in Warsaw. The agreement and protocol were signed for the Albanian side by the vice-minister of foreign trade, Marko Xega, and for the Polish side by the vice-minister of foreign trade Janusz Belevski.

The signing ceremony was attended by the members of the two delegations. Present was also the charge d'affaires a.i. of the Embassy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Warsaw Viron Tane.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will export to the People's Republic of Poland bitumen, chrome ore, copper wires, tobacco, cigarettes, cognac, confections, handicraft articles, etc., and will import different semi-finished articles, equipment and spare parts, metal-cutting machineries, chemicals, etc.

Upon its stay in Warsaw the delegation was received by the minister of foreign trade of the People's Republic of Poland Andrezej Wojcik. [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish, at 2200 GMT on 30 January reports the agreement "shows an increase compared with the quantities set by the trade protocol last year."]

HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC, SCI-TECH TALKS OPEN

LD031801 Budapest MTI in English 1722 GMT 3 Feb 86

[Text] Warsaw, February 3 (MTI) -- The 22nd session of the Hungarian-Polish Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Committee opened on Monday [3 February] under the chairmanship of Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

The session and the talks of Jozsef Marjai with Polish leaders are to centre on cooperation over the past five years, the utilization of experience in the field and arrangements for the implementation of the 1986-1990 agreements. Methods are to be worked out for the continuous expansion of cooperation over the plan and for ensuring the accordance of agreements concluded on a bilateral basis and within the system of socialist integration.

On Monday Jozsef Marjai met Roman Malinowski, president of the Sejm and chairman of the United Peasants' Party. Present was Gyorgy Biczo, Hungarian ambassador to Warsaw.

PRINTING EQUIPMENT FOUND IN FRG AID SHIPMENT

LD042153 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] Customs officers have again found printing equipment among gifts from abroad. During the customs clearance of a shipment from the FRG to the St Jan Bosko Roman Catholic parish in Poznan at the (? Olszyn) border crossing in Zielona Gora Voivodship, a duplicating machine, paper, carbon and duplicating ink not entered on the shipping documents were discovered.

The illegally shipped equipment was among gifts which included second-hand beds, mattresses, footwear, clothing, and medicines. The West German Catholic parish in Kressbronn sent the shipment. An investigation is being conducted by the voivodship prosecutor's office in Zielona Gora.

DATA SHOWS 1985 PLAN 'ALMOST FULFILLED'

LD031743 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 3 Feb 86

[Text] A Main Statistical Office communique on the socioeconomic situation in 1985 states the assumptions of the central annual plan were almost fulfilled by industry. Goods sold, in comparison with the previous year, rose by 3.8 percent. The past year was the fourth consecutive favorable year in agriculture. The harvest amounted to almost 24 million metric tons. Favorable trends in pig breeding continued, while rationing was abolished on grain products, fats and sugar.

Housing constructors completed 193,000 homes -- more than assumed in the plan, but slightly less than in 1984. Planned investment projects last year were exceeded. However, the implementation discipline for tasks, and keeping deadlines for finished buildings did not improve. There was a faster growth in people's incomes than was the case in past years -- by almost Z618 billion.

Foreign trade turnover with socialist countries increased. The surplus of imports over exports amount to R684 million. In trade turnover with capitalist countries, imports rose by more than 8 percent, and exports fell by more than 3 percent. The surplus of exports over imports amounted to $1.77 -- $454 million less than in 1984.

The implementation of national socioeconomic plan tasks for the years 1983-85 ended last year. According to initial information, the basic assumptions in the field of production were fulfilled, and in some areas, exceeded: the national income generated, in comparison with 1982, rose by about 15 percent.

FREE-MARKET MEAT KIOSKS DRAW FEW BUYERS, SELLERS

LD031943 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 3 Feb 86

[Text] In the three voivodships where free-market meat kiosks have been organized barely a few pigs and cattle have been sold in the first days of trade. Most have been sold in the Leszno Voivodship. In Warsaw meat was to be found only in one of the the markets, where it was sold by only one farmer. Prices ranged from Z300 for bacon and spareribs to Z700 for a pork roast. Beef was Z500, sirloin Z350. In the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship not a single breeder showed up. First experiences seem to show that free market-trade does not threaten state trade.

POLL SHOWS APPROVAL OF JARUZELSKI, MESSNER

LD041601 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 4: The following topics were included in a poll conducted last December by the Public Opinion Probing Centre: attitudes concerning changes in top-level government posts, an evaluation of the role Wojciech Jaruzelski and his government played in solving Poland's problems in the first half of the 1980's, expectations and hopes tied with the formation of the new government of Zbigniew Messner.

The findings of the survey showed that the changes in the composition of the government were, on the whole, received with approval due to the person of the new premier (15 percent) and the president of the Council of State (11 percent). Only 6.6 percent of the respondents said none of the changes suited them and 23 percent considered the changes make-believe.

A portion of the respondents assessed the fact of Wojciech Jaruzelski's taking over as president of the Council of State was a consolidation of the general's position on the international arena and in Poland. On the other hand, some of those polled deemed the change to be a kind of withdrawal: The situation in the country was normal to a point where the general could have resigned in line with his earlier promise, they said.

From among the politicians mentioned in the poll, Wojciech Jaruzelski turned out to be most popular (71.3 percent). Most of those polled were unanimous as to his contributions to overcoming the political and economic crisis in Poland.

The survey's data show for example that the accomplishments of the general's government in the basic areas of political and economic life, namely market supply and social peace, were undisputed. Half of those polled thought that the foundations for lasting economic stabilization had been laid.

Opinions varied, on the other hand, on the issue of democratization of socio-political life, society's confidence in the central authorities and the work of state administration. There were almost as many respondents who saw improvement in these fields as those who noted stagnation. For example, the government's performance in the housing construction sector met with a negative assessment. Nearly 40 percent of respondents said they were not yet able to give a precise opinion as to the future performance of Messner's government. About one quarter said that it would be the same as before and over one fifth that it would improve.

Regarding the government's activities aimed to combat phenomena obstructing the country's development, prominence was given to issues of broadly perceived social ills (60.8 percent) and corruption (47.7 percent). 41.4 percent thought the government should see to an improvement in economic management. Also, over 60 percent of those polled expected the government to improve the situation in the market.

LEGISLATION ASSURES FARMERS' STABILITY, URBAN SAYS

LD291900 Warsaw International Service in English 2230 GMT 28 Jan 86

[Excerpts] We continue the news section of this program with a report from today's weekly conference held by Jerzy Urban, the government spokesman, for foreign and domestic correspondents. I am Benny Lutkiewicz, I was there, and here now are my impressions from today's proceedings.

A West German TV reporter wondered what had happened to the agreement between Rural Solidarity and the government team, signed at Ustrzyki during the height of the national crisis in 1981, and what had become of the joint committee which was to have supervised its implementation.

In those strike-fraught days, said Mr Urban, many various agreements were signed by partners, which no longer exist. What is more the problems which sparked off those strikes have disappeared. And in any case Rural Solidarity never did represent a substantive section of the farmers. But having said that, the section of this agreement -- and others concluded then, which were the real emanation of the will of the people to rectify injustice -- is being consistently implemented throughout the countryside today.

Here Jerzy Urban quoted several fundamental items of legislation which ensure durability of land tenure and of the general stability of the self-employed farmer's position in the national economic system.

CONGRESS COMMISSION TEAM MEETS TO PREPARE THESES

AU271324 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jan 86 p 1

[Report on meeting of the Congress Commission Team for the Formulation of PZPR Central Committee Theses for the 10th Party Congress, held in Warsaw on 22 January]

[Text] PAP -- The Congress Commission Team for the Formulation of PZPR Central Committee Theses for the 10th Party Congress met on 22 January for the first time. The team is made up of members of the central party authorities and invited representatives of big industrial party organizations, scholars, and social and economic activists.

Deliberations were chaired by Marian Wozniak, PZPR Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary.

The team discussed the general principles and character of the theses which will constitute the basis for precongress discussions along with the draft party program.

The theses will contain proposals pertaining to the main directions of party activity in the upcoming 5-year period, will give concrete form to the aims and tasks flowing from the draft program, and will contain methods for their attainment. The theses will outline the most essential problems which will have to be dealt with by the entire party leading society and by basic party organizations in the milieus in which they operate.

During the course of the discussion, which covered many subjects, the team reviewed issues that should serve as the basis for the theses. These issues encompassed experience gained in: the implementation of the strategy of socialist renewal, accord, and struggle; the state of national accord and its prospects for the future; ways of strengthening the state and socialist democracy; party ideological and international activities; the education of the younger generation; the institutional role of the trade union movement and other associations.

In line with the resolution adopted at the 23d PZPR Central Committee plenum, the theses will concentrate on economic problems, which today lie at the center of public interest. There are important tasks ahead of us in the economic sphere stemming from the need to modernize the economy. During the discussion, emphasis was placed on the need to produce a reliable and exhaustive diagnosis of the state of the economy, of prospects for its development, and of the conditions and dilemmas connected with economic development.

This will provide a background for the formulation of party tasks aimed at improving economic reform, at restructuring the economy; at accelerating the tempo of scientific and technological progress; at making efficient use of time, raw materials, fuels and energy; at stabilizing the marketplace; and at speeding up the development of agriculture and the food industry. Limited economic opportunities make it necessary to tailor social policy to real needs and aspirations in accordance with the principles of social justice.

The congress theses -- in accordance with the PZPR statutes -- will be issued 3 months before the date fixed for the opening of the congress and will be submitted for general party and national discussion.

During the course of the deliberations -- which were also attended by Albin Siwak, PZPR Politburo members, and Zbigniew Michalek, Central Committee secretary -- the following persons spoke: Franciszek Banko, Stanislawa Borkowska, Aleksander Burski, Jerzy Jaskiernia, Stefan Jedrychowski, Jan Kaczmarek, Wladyslaw Loranc, Zdislaw Miedziarnek, Albin Siwak, Jozef Soldaczuk, Eugeniusz Stawinski, Jozef Trzcinski, Andrzej Zielinski.

JARUZELSKI CHAIRS VOIVODSHIP SECRETARIES' SESSION

AU221211 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jan 86 p 1

[Text] PAP -- The 18-19 January session of the first secretaries of the PZPR voivodship committees discussed preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress, current socioeconomic problems, and party initiatives seeking to radically increase the effectiveness of combatting crime and wrongdoing, to respect the rule of law, and to organize public activities in favor of moral health.

The session, which was attended by Central Committee secretaries, chairmen on the Central Revision Commission and the Central Party Control Commission, and heads of the Central Committee departments, was chaired by PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

BRIEFS

INSPECTORS FIND GDANSK VIOLATIONS -- The worker-peasant inspectorate, functioning in Gdansk Voivodship for 6 months, contains 650 controllers. Despite the short time of working, the inspectors have conducted 168 check-ups. They discovered infringements (of regulations) in 122 cases. For example, in the trade sector, shop personnel conceal goods from clients and engage in profiteering. [Excerpt] [Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 31 Jan 86 LD]

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OFFICE APPOINTMENT -- The premier has appointed Major General [general brygady] Edward Drzazga to the post of chief inspector of control at the Office of the Council of Ministers. He has held the post of head of the Main Regional Inspectorate since 1983. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2049 GMT 29 Jan 86 LD]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES AL-QADHDHAFI BIRTHDAY MESSAGE

AU311443 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Jan 86 p 5

[Text] To His Excellency, Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania,

I take the opportunity of your birthday to convey to you, beloved friend, warmest greetings and best wishes. I wish you and your family much health and happiness.

Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OUTLINES INDUSTRIAL TARGETS

AU271721 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Jan 86 pp 1, 2

[Text] On Friday, 24 January, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP, chaired a meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee.

During the meeting, the Political Executive Committee examined and endorsed a report on a supplementary industrial production program for 1986.

Drafted in the spirit of the party secretary general's orientations and guidelines and on the basis of a thorough analysis of material, technical, and human possibilities in all industrial branches and counties, the program provides for attaining an important supplementary commodity production this year. First of all, the program aims to strongly increase the production of coal, crude oil, minerals, and electric power; resources absolutely necessary for the expedient development of activities in the entire economy. The provisions on additional increases in the units of the extractive and energy industry must be considered minimal; in actual fact, the plan in these fields can be exceeded without limits. The program also provides for additional production increases in other industrial branches, according to requirements of the national economy. It aims particularly at fulfilling and exceeding the export plan and increasing the competitiveness of Romanian products on foreign markets, this being a prerequisite of the entire economic activity.

During the meeting, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, stressed that there are real opportunities to fulfill the provisions of the supplementary industrial production program for 1986 and asked the party bodies and organizations, ministries, central departments, and economic units to firmly act to commendably fulfill all targets included in this program. He stressed that the fulfillment of this supplementary program requires that each unit and worker properly organize the productive activity, fully utilize available capacities, further improve manufacture technologies, raise the technical and qualitative level of products, reduce material and energy consumption, and markedly increase productivity. All of these are essential elements of broadly utilizing all reserves for increasing production in all national economic branches.

In close connection with these problems, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu drew attention to the need to firmly strive to speed up the work established in the program approved by the Political Executive Committee concerning the organization and modernization of production processes in enterprises, so as to be able, beginning next February, to efficiently implement the first stage of measures envisaged for this purpose.

Likewise, the party secretary general asked that new impetus be given to applying the overall contract system, so as to proceed to generally introduce it in all sectors, by the end of February.

Proceeding from results attained in the first part of January, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked that everything be done, by better organizing work, to smoothly and fully implement all quantitative and qualitative indicators of the supplementary plan and program in industry, investments, and other branches of the national economy. Particular attention should be paid to attaining the production earmarked for exports on schedule and at a high qualitative level.

In addition, the Political Executive Committee examined and endorsed a program on developing the production of soft drinks in the 1986-90 period. The measures included in the program stipulate an almost 2.5 times increase in the quantities of soft drinks produced by industry compared with the previous year. This will be attained through expanding and modernizing existing facilities and commissioning new production lines. The program sets tasks for applying modern manufacturing technologies, improving the quality of products, and expanding their variety and raw material base. Stressing the need to ensure all conditions for fully implementing this program, the Political Executive Committee asked the ministries in charge of producing the necessary equipment for developing and modernizing production in this sector to take all steps to produce and deliver this equipment on schedule.

During the meeting, the Political Executive Committee examined and endorsed a program on grapevine and fruit-tree growing in the 1986-90 period. In accordance with targets established by the 13th RCP Congress in this field, the program provides for increasing the quantities of grapes and fruit, mainly by increasing the production per hectare, generally applying intensive technologies on existing plantations, and creating new and highly productive plantations on stopes and sandy fields, which are not fit for growing grain and industrial plants. The area earmarked for growing grapes will be extended. Likewise, by clearing certain vineyards and orchards that are unproductive or placed on arable land, an area of about 34,000 hectares will be freed by the end of this 5-year plan.

To diversify the variety of fruits, according to the consumption requirements of the people and of the industry of canned food and soft drinks, and to better meet export requirements, we will intensively develop fruit-growing bushes and strawberry crops.

The Political Executive Commitee established that task fulfillment in this field should be checked by groups especially set up for this purpose. It asked the Ministry of Agriculture to ensure all conditions for strictly fulfilling provisions of the vine and fruit-tree growing program.

The Political Executive Committee then examined and endorsed a program on the development of bee-keeping in the 1986-90 period. Along with increasing the number of bee families, the measures stipulated in the program will ensure an increase in the production of honey, a broad diversification of bee products and byproducts, and an increase in their quality, meeting all requirements for domestic consumption and ensuring important quantities for export.

During the meeting, the Political Executive Committee also examined and endorsed a program on the development of sericulture in the 1986-90 period. On this basis of this program, at the end of the current 5-year plan we will attain a production of cocoons four times higher than this year.

To this end, the program contains measures aimed at developing the production of silkworms in private households, ensuring the necessary material base by extending mulberry plantations, intensifying scientific research for improving the domestic silkworm genetic fund, and obtaining new and highly productive cross-breeds.

The Political Executive Committee also examined and endorsed a program on the development of rabbit raising, with a view to attaining 50 million head. The increase in the number of rabbits in the 1986-90 period -- amounting to 11.3 million more than intial provisions -- will be achieved by developing rabbit raising in state poultry-raising enterprises, agricultural production cooperatives, socialist units, and private households, in cooperation with state units.

In connection with all these programs on the development of various agricultural production branches, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asked the ministries and local party-state bodies to draw up their own programs and plans of measures and steadily check their implementation -- every 10 days or on a monthly basis -- to ensure full attainment of all envisaged tasks and a substantial increase in the quantities of produce delivered to the national economy by these sectors.

During the meeting, the Political Executive Committee endorsed the mandate of the Romanian delegation at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, and the mandate of the Romanian delegation at the session of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. The Political Executive Committee decided that our country's delegations should act in the spirit of the 13th party congress decisions and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's orientations and guidelines, to make an active and constructive contribution to the unfolding of these important international meetings with increasingly better results and to the achievement of real progress along the road of strengthening trust, security, and disarmament in Europe.

The Political Executive Committee also solved other current problems of the party-state activity.

RESTRAINED U.S. REACTION TO ISRAELI 'HIJACKING'

LD042335 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2302 GMT 4 Feb 86

[By Borislav Lalic]

[Text] Washington, February 4 (TANJUG) -- Washington's reaction to the Israeli hijacking of the Libyan civilian plane today was noticeably restrained, although the restraint might have been taken as indicating tacit approval rather than regret over what was indubitably an act of air piracy. On the news of the hijack, the White House said at noon today that it had no comment yet and that the affair was being "studied."

The restraint in the first few moments after the hijack seems to have also been a result of the expectation of what will the search of the plane reveal. There were speculations here -- and probably also wishes -- that the passengers aboard the hijacked plane would include Abu Nidal or some members of his group, whom the Americans too are trying to track down.

At any rate, today's incident over the Mediterranean was -- in the view of observers in Washington -- one of those unexpected and dramatic events which pour more oil on the fire of old and new crises in the region. It probably fits in Reagan's "war of nerves" being waged against Libya already for a month now and from which the United States still does not desist, preparing more manoeuvres on the border of Libyan territorial waters.

With or without Washington's knowledge, Israel has doubtless joined even more directly in the U.S. pressures on Libya. Yesterday, the administration announced new manoeuvres of the Sixth Fleet off the Libyan coast, despite the statements being made even here that Reagan's total boycott of Libya has suffered a failure and that the "war of nerves" was of greater use of Al-Qadhdhafi than to Washington.

AUSTRIAN INTERIOR MINISTER ARRIVES FOR TALKS

LD031729 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1636 GMT 03 Feb 86

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Feb (TANJUG) -- Karl Blecha, minister for the interior of the Republic of Austria, today arrived on a visit to our country as part of regular meetings between the highest ranking officials for internal affairs. Blecha and his host, Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs, will hold talks on promoting cooperation between the internal affairs organs of our two neighboring and friendly countries.

Meets With Planinc

AU041951 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, has received in Belgrade Karl Blecha, Austrian minister for the interior. They particularly discussed the cooperation of the two countries in combating all forms of terrorism in the world.

Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs, and his Austrian counterpart Karl Blecha, also met in Belgrade today.

Special attention in their exchange of opinions was also paid to combating international terrorism and other forms of organized international crime. Mutual readiness was expressed that, in accordance with the well-known positions of the two countries on this international phenomenon, security organs of the two countries should take all the measures necessary and make constant efforts in combating international terrorism.

Antiterrorism Measures Discussed

LD041537 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1327 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] Belgrade, February 4 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia and Austria have stated the common readiness, in keeping with their well-known positions on international terrorism, to continue to take all necessary measures and invest steady efforts for the supression of this international phenomena, which has of recently acquired increasingly drastic and dangerous proportions. The above was announced in Belgrade today, after the talks held between Yugoslav Internal Affairs Secretary Dobroslav Culafic and his Austrian counterpart Karl Blecha.

The two sides set out that other forms of international crime, too, did not recognize state borders, and that the countering of all forms of the endangering of human lives and property was in the common interest and of a wider significance for security and cooperation in Europe. In this context they exchanged views on the illegal narcotics trade, the detecting of forged banknotes, travel papers and other documents, and the uncovering of channels through which technical and other goods are smuggled.

Culafic and Blecha established that cooperation between the internal affairs organs of Yugoslavia and Austria was developing successfully as part of the comprehensive relations between the two countries at the political, economic, and other levels. They singled out as particularly good the results recorded in the cooperation between the border-area organs, and in border security affairs, traffic safety, and the suppression of criminal and other unlawful activities.

In the talks, it was agreed for the interior ministers of the two countries further to develop and promote their cooperation also in terms of all other questions of interest to the security of the two countries, which, as set out, will contribute to the successful development of the overall relations between the two neighboring and friendly countries.

FURTHER DEBATES AT LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION

LD171526 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 14 Jan 86

[Excerpt of report on 14 January LCY Central Committee session]

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received] The solution, therefore, is not in bureaucratic-unitaristic restoration, but in linking the entire associated labor on the basis of common interests, on the joint production relations of socialist self-management, on which the common interest of the nations and nationalities and their republics and provinces is also based.

The cause of our inefficiency, of the slow reaching of agreements and of obstacles to agreement, is not in the inequitable position of the republics and provinces, or in agreeing as a means of policy; it lies in abusing principles under the guise of agreeing in the name of the working class and nation.

In the flood of various ideas for transforming national relations and federative orders, of course, there are some which refer to some unsolved questions of autonomy as a whole and its nature. In this connection, we have confirmed the constitutional orientation and principles of the statue as well as the organizational order of the LCY in many of our documents in this Central Committee, as well as in those of the Serbian LC and provincial committees. This Critical Analysis as well, with its basis in the stands of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, indicates ways of solving these problems. Recalling Kardelj's views on the equality and independence of the republic and provinces, Bosko Krunic said that these orientations provide a lasting guide for developing an autonomous province in all aspects of its historical and social essence, and particularly from positions of responsibility for strengthening the Yugoslav socialist community, as well as for consolidating the unity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a state and as a complex sociopolitical community, the constitutuent parts of which are the provinces. In this direction lies the responsibility of this Central Committee, and particularly of the Serbian LC and of the League of Communists in the provinces, with respect to the theme we are discussing today.

In this, it is important always to bear in mind that the constitution starts from the subjectivities of the provinces as sociopolitical communities which are constitutent parts of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The constitutional system is primarily directed toward self-managing socioeconomic foundations and methods of developing unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia; it does not give any foundation for federalizing these relations without unity. This is clear, Krunic said. We cannot develop autonomously, nor can the Socialist Republic of Serbia develop as a state and composite community. This is an active principle vital for constitutional relations and for our orientation.

Pointing out that the LCY has initiated numerous changes in developing the political system of Yugoslavia, Krunic said that the LCY cannot be regarded as supporting the status quo. We cannot have a dilemma about what comes next. We have a long-term projection of developjent and program orientations. Now the League of Communists itself must be more organized. There cannot be an initiating and militant League of Communists if the leadership is too slow and the grassroots inert, Bosko Krunic pointed out among other things.

There is fundamental agreement that there is no reason to change the basic orientations of the political system. Rather, what is needed are measures within the framework of the same strategy and concept in order to eliminate all weak solutions in the system, Hamdija Pozderac said. However, very often under the label of strengthening socialist self-management and the delegate system, and allegedly within the strategy established by the constitution, the law on associated labor and documents of the LCY, proposals put forward which, regardless of the intentions of the proposers, objectively contain some other social projects.

It is often proposed that with the objectives of strengthening the real power of the working class, instead of the Federal Chamber we should form a chamber of associated labor at the level of the federation. This proposal, as well as many others, should, according to Pozderac, be analyzed within the framework of the enire constitutional strategy and concept. In order to really strengthen the power of associated labor it is necessary to ensure the strengthening of the power of associated labor in both chambers of the SFRY Assembly. It is a completely correct and the only possible orientation that both the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces and the Federal Chamber should, through changes, develop into chambers of associated labor; that is, that the influence of associated labor in them becomes more prominent.

In conclusion, Pozderac stressed the need for building into the delegate system elements of direct decisionmaking, open lists, more candidates, mobility of people in offices, public responsibility of delegates, and so forth. It is essential to ensure the strengthening of the position of associated labor in organizing political power, to ensure the power of the working class through the entire political system, while the political system and social relations become more and more democratic, Hamdija Pozderac said.

Taken as a whole, the analysis has justified the undertaking of such a great and responsible social enterprise. Vidoje Zarkovic said that the analysis has thrown light on many problems, pointed out their causes, and put forward several concrete proposals which will contribute to efforts toward the more successful functioning and development of the political system.

However, he added, this study also has some significant shortcomings. For example, it is not good that these problems and difficulties, and then also proposals for solving them, are all put on the same level, so that it is difficult to see what should be dealt with first. The LCY Central Committee Presidium tried to decrease this shortcoming of the Critical Analysis through proposed conclusions of this session.

Another shortcoming of the analysis that is it does not fully develop thoughts on some essential questions which are of particular significance for political action in view of the changing the state of affairs; that is, eliminating shortcomings in the functioning of the political system. It is a shortcoming that no deeper light has been thrown on the causes of growing statistic bureaucratism. The analysis has not sufficiently thrown light on why our delegate and political system have not realized an evenmore resolute and dominant role of the worker and working people in associated labor.

Our main problem, Zarkovic pointed out, is in the inconsistent realization and development of the production relations of socialist self-management. Bureaucratic-statist structures in the provinces, republics, and federation make more or less all essential decisions on global questions of social production, despite all our proclamations that in our system decisions on this should and must be made by workers organized on the principles of self-management. In the conditions where our production relations are based on a strong bureaucratic statism, self-management is in many ways reduced to participation; this is contrary to all program orientations of the LCY and of our community. This contradiction has brought about the sharpening of many other contradictions in our society, weakening the stability of the entire superstructure and multiplying problems in the functioning of the political system. The way out, obviously, lies in dealing more quickly and consistently with these contradictions to the benefit of socialist self-management.

In order to achieve new specific breakthroughs in the development of socialist self-management it is necessary, above all, to overcome in a speedier and more consistent way the very strong tendency toward statism in all sociopolitical communities. The fundamental way to solve this problem is through more consistent implementation of the constitutional and program principle concerning strengthening the social role of the working class and of the workers and working people organized on the basis of self-management in associated labor. The Critical Analysis devotes much attention to the implementation of the workers' decisive role in our system. A number of very good proposals relating to this issue have been made in the Analysis. The only weakness is the fact that all this refers mainly to the process of decisionmaking on the micro scale, while little progress has been made regarding the macro scale where the workers' power in the process of decisionmaking is in fact the weakest.

We must place more emphasis on the fact that we are not satisfied with the degree of organization of workers and working people in associated labor. They are not organized enough to be able to manage the affairs in social production or to remove techno-bureaucratic structures from that sphere. In my view, Zarkovic said, the Critical Analysis' greatest weakness lies in the fact that it has failed to provide a thorough insight into this problem and to put forward specific proposals for its solution. It is, for instance, necessary to examine more profoundly the reasons why the chambers of associated labor in the assemblies of sociopolitical communities have failed to realize their constitutional concept. Chambers of associated labor are one of the more important factors in the efforts to overcome the existing contradictions of the production relationship in favor of self-management and the realization of the decisive role of workers and working people in our political system.

The Critical Analysis devoted least attention to the issue of how to enable workers organized on the basis of self-management in associated labor to exert greater and more dominant influence on the process of decisionmaking in the federation. Workers are, in general, left out of this process. They take part in the process insofar as the republics and provinces have succeeded in become self-managing work communities. The fact is that they are far from achieving that status. Decisions are mostly made by state organs in the republics and provinces and in the federation with a large dose of bargaining and blackmailing. If we are to resolve contradictions apparent in the production relationship, and if the constitutional concept of the rule of the workers organized on the basis of self-management in associated labor is to be implemented, we must continue to search for such solutions to this problem which will in no way jeopardize the constitutional position of the republics and provinces.

Indisputably, these solutions must be sought, first and foremost, through efforts toward the more rapid development of the republics and provinces as self-managing labor communities. Alongside this, however, they must also be sought through developing and stimulating various forms of self-managing organizations of associated labor, along the lines of production complexes in the unified Yugoslav economic area.

Unfortunately, advocation of self-managing organization of workers on a Yugoslav-wide scale is still, apparently, interpreted as some sort of threat to national equality and as a renewal of unitarism. Where this is the case, Zarkovic noted, it is forgotten that political structures are not and cannot be the sole representatives of national interests. True unity of national and class interests can in fact be secured only when these find expression as the unified interests of workers in associated labor.

The macroeconomic decisions being adopted by polycentric statist-bureaucratic structures are inevitably burdened by many weaknesses. The fact is that this is precisely why a significant proportion of the total social labor of the Yugoslav working class is squandered. It is in this, and not primarily in poor work by workers, that the most important causes of our economic stagnation of recent years and the deterioration of the qualitative factors of economic activity are to be found, and it is this that is one of the chief causes of the economic crisis.

I think, he said, that it is erroneous to think that the bureaucratic-statist structures can and must be squeezed out of the sphere of decisionmaking on these issues in such a way that these values can be resolved solely by way of the operation of the law of values. The realization and development of our system depends to a great degree upon the intensity, quality, and manner of operation of the subjective factor in it, in which the state must certainly be included.

The weaknesses in decisionmaking in the SFRY Assembly, too, best demonstrate the importance of the subjective factor in the political system. If the subjective factor, particularly the League of Communists, fails to accomplish that role which it must accomplish in our system in regard to making manifest, defining, and coordinating the multiplicity of self-managing and republican and provincial interests, then statist-bureaucratic structures will do it. It happens that every year a virtual crisis is created in our society over coordination in the SFRY Assembly. The delegations of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces in these situations often conduct themselves over the coordinating process like parties in a bourgeois society, championing only their own narrow interests. It is our aspiration to develop, in place of the classical political pluralism, a pluralism of genuine self-managing interests.

The way in which consensus is now reached in the SFRY Assembly, Vidoje Zarkovic said, gives rise to concern. We use it in such a way that it represents a constant danger to the political stability of our society. It is achieved through blackmail and haggling, through politicization of virtually every interest. It is sufficient to analyze just the experiences of last year to come to such a conclusion.

What did we do in such a situation and in similar situations? We did the only thing possible to avoid a crisis -- the political factor intervened, primarily the League of Communists, but in such a way as to exert pressure upon the delegate assemblies of individual republics and provinces to change their standpoint, or to vote contrary to their conviction. This time we succeeded, but in future it will be increasingly difficult to carry it out. We must ask, Zarkovic said, what would have happened had we not succeeded, and what will happen in similar situations when we do not succeed? I think it is clear to everyone that we would have gotten into a grave crisis which would have had unforeseeable consequences not only for the internal state of relations in our society, but also further afield. The Critical Analysis devotes too little attention to this issue even though, whether we like it or not, it objectively burdens relations in our society and places a burden upon the functioning of our federation as a multinational community of equal nations and nationalities. Consensus is now achieved in our country in such a way that virtually every time any coordination takes place in the SFRY Assembly a profound social crisis threatens to break out and, in order to avoid this, in such a way as to weaken instead of strengthen the equality of our nations and nationalities, republics and provinces. In my opinion the League of Communists cannot and dare not remain blind to such a reality.

Zarkovic considered that a fundamental analysis should be made of the way consensus is reached, so as to see what should be undertaken to ensure that we do not get into similar undesired situations. Decisionmaking by consensus should certainly remain for all those issues on which, as envisaged by the SFRY Constitution, interim measures, which are adopted in the SFRY Assembly by majority vote, can be adopted in essence, and not just by formal legal authority. This is better than someone being constantly politically pressured into changing his standpoint, or voting contrary to his opinion.

The fact that the Critical Analysis failed to give sufficient answers to these and other questions does not of course mean that it should therefore be disqualified -- as has been attempted in public debate -- or that all the other qualities of this document should therefore be overlooked. On the contrary, we should exert the maximum efforts to implement what is put forward in it, and we should do so at once; but at the same time we must continue to search for what has to be done in order to make our political system even more effective and stable, Vidoje Zarkovic said.

The LCY is not discussing the Critical Analysis in order to prevent or replace public discussion, but in order to enable Communists and all working people to take an active part in it, Marjan Rozic said.

In order to provide the public discussion with a sufficiently democratic and at the same time ideologically and politically clear approach, in developing the political system, as well as in developing and debating solutions offered in the critical analysis, we should rely more on Kardelj's "Directions of Development." Even then Kardelj stressed, Rozic recalled, that not all aspects of the political system are harmonized through self-management, nor is it the case with the position and activity of subjective socialist forces.

Pointing out the significance of the public discussion on the Critical Analysis, Rozic stressed that it is not sufficient if the solutions offered in the Analysis should be given only declarative and formal support. It is not acceptable that discussions on behalf of working people are conducted only in forums. The most important thing is that workers, delegates, main subjects of this system express their views on the political system without any unnecessary prompters, Rozic said.

Bruno Vuletic spoke about the social function of judicial organs. As an example, he pointed to the great social responsibility borne by legal organs and the cadres that work in them, for decisions which they make on the basis of the constitution, laws, and norms of self-managing socialist society. If individuals from these organs make decisions contrary to the law and the truth, to honesty and norms of socialist morality, they cannot be exempt from responsibility in front of these same laws or delegate assemblies of sociopolitical communities. Particularly if such decisions, regardless whether they are the result of somebody's influence or not, create a precedent for judicial organs with important social and unforeseeable consequences.

Vuletic then mentioned a concrete example. The author of the book "Radjanje Slobode" [The Birth of Freedom] was given a suspended sentence in Split because she "insulted" a private prosecutor. He added that the private prosecutor had been a member of the quisling formations. The author had actually mentioned his name in the book in the same context and she had proof.

Such a sentence, forced by aggressive and stubborn pressure on the part of the private prosecutor and those who help him, creates a dangerous precedent for all participants in the national liberation war. In the future, on the basis of this precedent, every former member of the quisling, ustasha, and traitorous chetnik and other hostile formations can take to our self-managing, socialist court any participant in the national liberation war who dares publicly mention their names and affiliation in the war.

This Central Committee must energetically demand an end to such practices and ensure that full protection and rights be given to veterans of the national liberation war to speak the truth. In this case it is necessary to offer the necessary protection to the author of this book, Bruno Vuletic stressed.

It is necessary that at meetings like this one we speak more about the results we have achieved, since it is well-known that owing to efforts of the LCY and other subjective forces enormous changes have occurred, Danilo Vasic believes. Owning to socialist self-management, our country and each republic and province have achieved enormous results in developing material and spiritual bases and socialist social relations which are not known in the recent history of other countries and systems. However, there have also been a great many shortcomings and inconsistencies.

In the public discussion on the Critical Analysis and ideopolitical action on its implementation, we must achieve or at least attempt to achieve the ideological and political unity of the LCY. Without unity, no other necessary changes which this document proposes will be possible, Milan Kucan said.

This is even more so since the work on the Critical Analysis, and particularly its final phase, has shown that in society and in the League of Communists as well, there are still very great differences and ideopolitical controversies in viewing, understanding, and comprehending the class essence of our political system, and even of the bases themselves.

On the other hand, there are demands for a radical change in the system, either in the direction of returning to relations whose ideal is bourgeois society, or in the direction of statist administrative socialism developed on state property and on the ruling position of the party and state stratum. The League of Communists should not give its support to demands for changes of this kind, regardless of their verbally progressive description. Now there are demands of both kinds within the League of Communists itself.

Equally, we have not put into perspective demands for the so called defense of the system. These are the demands which attempt to show our state of affairs as an already formed and realized socialist society, which is a transparent attempt to deceive the working class and defend certain social and material positions and monopolies in decisionmaking.

The Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management successfully identifies the basic weaknesses which are manifesting themselves in the functioning of the political system. The solutions it offers and its conclusions will have a stimulatory effect on the content and course of the public debate, Branko Mamula said.

At the same time, he added, a number of criticisms can be aimed at the Analysis. Above all, it has not fully identified the basic causes of the weaknesses in the functioning of the political system. To be more precise, it has not given an answer to the question of whether the basic reasons lie in the inadequate institutionalization of the system, or whether it is a question of a major deviation from the political practice of institutional solutions -- is the system therefore in fact suspended? I believe that there are causes on both sides, and that they should be accurately differentiated, because that is a condition for removing them.

Greater attention should also have been devoted to the issues and problems of further strengthening the defensive capability of society and the expansion and development of the Armed Forces. The analysis has confined itself to stating general orientations, so that it is possible to gain the impression that there are no problems here. The weaknesses in the functioning of the political system which are enumerated in the analysis undoubtedly also hinder our overall defense and protection development. If they are not overcome more quickly, Mamula assessed, the effectiveness of the functioning of the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection could also be brought into question.

Proceeding from this assessment, Branko Mamula spoke in particular about the problems in the functioning of the federation and the activity of the LCY. The institutional mechanism of the federation, that is the realization through the constitution of the established role of the federal organs, is not functioning effectively enough precisely because we are not developing the essential foundations of unity decisively enough.

There should be no dilemma over whether to realize or not realize what is defined as the joint interest of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities and forms the foundation for the development of Yugoslavia as a common state and socialist self-managing democratic community.

One of the essential characteristics of the system of decisionmaking in the federation is the slow and laborious way in which agreement is reached on the most important Yugoslav questions. Relations, Mamula said, are easily exacerbated, because there is an egotistical striving for the realization of narrow, fragmented interests, which destroys intranational trust and unity. One's own history is uncritically glorified, and cultural heritage is sometimes used for reactionary ends. All these phenomena have a destructive effect on the consciousness, morality and behavior of people, particularly the young generation.

Our political system of socialist self-management cannot function effectively without the realization of the constitutional role of the LCY as the vanguard of the working class and the basic cohesive factor in society. The present situation demands, Mamula said, that the LCY turn even more to the essential questions of the Yugoslavia's unity. For the LC to be equal to its historical role and responsibility it must, above all, overcome all that destroys its ideo-political and action unity and its vanguard role.

Problems which manifest themselves in the functioning of the political system, particularly in connection with the functioning of the federation and activity of the LCY as a vanguard of the working class, have an unfavorable impact on the development and strengthening of our defense. In some places, opinions are heard that it is necessary to reexamine our general concept of defense since it is believed that it leads to the militarization of society, despite the well-known fact that the process of socializing defense is a direct negation of any form of militarizing society. We believe, and we act accordingly, that our concepts of all-people's defense and social self-protection, in the sense of their general orientations, today have no alternative.

There are also manifestations of distorted ways of understanding the concept of armed people, and in this connection also of the understanding that the Yugoslav People's Army as the operative part of the Armed Forces is not appropriate for this concept. This view is based on the idea that the Yugoslav People's Army is allegedly a state socialist model of a military organization, and independent force outside the essential influence of society, and therefore an alleged danger to society itself.

In this sort of criticism, Mamula said, the working and class composition of our Army is being forgotten, as well as the fact that in our Army there is a strong organization whose ideological and political activity, and its entire work, is most directly based on the program and policy of the LCY. Over 95 percent of the regular component of the Army are Communists who fight for the consistent implementation of this policy in an organized way. The function of and character of our Army are fundamental to the entire system of political relations in our society and must be viewed as an integral part of the entire constitutional concept of SFRY defense.

Certain problems which have recently cropped up in financing the Yugoslav People's Army are also the consequence of problems connected with the functioning of the political system. That is, in some places there are attempts to create an ideological and political climate saying that expenditures for financing the Yugoslav People's Army are too big, even superfluous, and that they essentially slow down the country's socioeconomic development.

Recently a great deal has been said about the lack of foundation for such claims and therefore there is no need on this occasion to speak about it at length, Mamula said. In the conditions of increasingly more prominent disintegrational processes in socioeconomic and political relations, as well as the activity of anti-socialist and anti-self-management forces and ideologies, consciousness is becoming more and more territorialized. Its nationalistic syndrome is strengthening, and partial consciousness is becoming more dominant instead of a strengthening consciousness of togetherness and simultaneous belonging to one's own nation or nationality and to the Yugoslav socialist community. If these tendencies are not halted, it will be increasingly more difficult to develop a high defense consciousness and maintain at a high level the motivation of working people and citizens for defense of the country. These are the essential orientations of our defense capability, Branko Mamula pointed out.

I would like to know, Mirko Ostojic said, if the dilemma which emerged at the very beginning of this debate and which relates to the system and its crisis has been solved. Is the system in itself the cause of the crisis, or are its causes to be searched for somewhere else, outside the system? It seems to me that it is more than clear that these two are closely interlinked and cannot be separated from each other. To change individual paragraphs and standpoints alone would not change the situation unless the type of behavior is changed, and relations and the way in which the subjective forces of this society are organized are modified.

According to Dusan Bogdanov, the further development of the political system, as outlined by the Critical Analysis, will contribute to the creation of conditions necessary for a speedier improvement in the production relationship of socialist self-management, and on that basis to the realization of the working class' leading role in social production.

There can be no change in the way the republics, provinces, and the federal function unless major changes are made in the system of social production and unless the social power of associated labor is increased. Only strengthening the power of associated labor in all institutions of the system could speed up and improve the realization of the constitutional concept of development, Bogdanov said.

In reference to the recently held session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, which discussed the functioning of the political system of self-management, Svetislav Dolasevic stressed that the focus of attention was the Kosovo Communists' own behavior and measures necessary for securing the continued successful functioning of the system of self-management. We in the province were confronted by the hostile forces' strong counterrevolutionary activity directed at changing and overthrowing our social system. However, the struggle against these forces demonstrated how full of vitality and resistance our system was, and that where self-management was at a higher level of development and political work more intensive, the enemy was not allowed to penetrate or to launch its destructive and counterrevolutionary actions.

We are aware of the fact that certain changes are needed, Dolasevic stressed. However, we must not yield to demands for changes if those changes disregard the system of socialist self-management and its protection. Any change which disregards the attained level of development of relations within our socialist community could have a negative effect on the unity of the country. We must therefore approach this issue with much more attention.

Before the Critical Analysis was officially published, questions were asked as to whether it represents a sufficient foundation for changes in the political system to make that system more effective and efficient.

The League of Communists' answer to that question is very important, according to Milutin Baltic. In the same way, he went on, today some people assert that the nalysis is the minimum about which we were able to come to agreement. However, no one says that it is the maximum which had to be achieved. In a word, quite a number of efforts are being made to devalue the entire work on the Critical Analysis. We must decisively oppose such attempts, Baltic said, even though I personally think that some things should have been more clearly formulated.

One of these questions is the operation of the subjective factor. Baltic considered that the document fails to give a real analysis of the constitutional role of the subjective forces, and without that, he said, it is impossible to determine further directions of activity.

It is often rightly stated, Hisen Ramadani said, that one of the problems of the functioning of the political system lies in the fact that the League of Communists always operates from positions of authority and in connection with the state organs and technocratic-managerial structures. In the Critical Analysis, however, we have no precise, definite descriptions of this phenomenon, nor guidelines as to how to overcome it.

First and foremost, it is essential to improve the work of the basic organizations of the LC in executive and managerial organs, in sociopolitical communities, and in the professional services of organizations of associated labor. The work of these organizations of associated labor. The work of these organizations is very often reduced to mere formality, Ramadani said.

The Critical Analysis clearly shows that, staying with the basic premises, there is quite a lot that must be changed, but at the same time there must be serious analysis of what does not change and yet does not function as it should. This means public debate on the functioning of the political system should be used for a thorough reexamination of the existing practice of self-management, Milan Dzajkovski said.

As has been underlined on several occasions, one of the most renowned manifestations and inconsistencies in the application of the essence of our system is autarchy and particularist conduct. Today it is hard to say whether it is the constitution and the other systemic laws which are responsible for all this, or the inertia of the conduct of the bureaucracy which, taking advantage of the need for decentralization of the federation, hampered the process of the full transformation of society on self-managing bases. The greatest weakness of our society is the failure to bring about the self-managing position of associated labor in the entirety of the system.

There is no form of social organization or social norm that cannot or need not be changed as soon as it becomes a brake on the further development of self-managing production relations, Arif Tanovic said. The pluralism of self-managing interests presumes a principled and well-argued dialogue which must lead to a synthesis of agreements for action, Tanovic concluded.

Following almost 10 hours of debate, the members of the LCY Central Committee this evening adopted the conclusions on the tasks of the League of Communists in public debate on the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management.

In conclusion, the Central Committee empowered the Presidium to undertake the appropriate measures in connection with the case of the authoress of the book "The Birth of Freedom," mentioned in today's debate by Bruno Vuletic.

The Central Committee continues its work tomorrow, with the draft standpoints on ideopolitical questions relating to realizing the constitutional position of workers in disposing of and managing income and the means of social production on the agenda.

SERBIAN VICE PRESIDENT BRANKO PESIC DIES

LD041835 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1813 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] Belgrade, February 4 (TANJUG) -- Vice President of the Presidency of Serbia Branko Pesic died here today after a long and grave illness.

ZARKOVIC COMMENTS ON YUGOSLAVIA AFTER TITO

AU011649 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Feb 86

[Text] Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, will speak as the guest of Radio Belgrade Second Program, which will be broadcast on Sunday, 2 February, at 1800 [1700 GMT]. In an interview with Milos Mijatic, chief and responsible editor of Radio Belgrade Second Program, Videoje Zarkovic speaks about the basic dates in the development of Socialist Yugoslavia. We elect from this extensive interview a part in which Vidoje Karkovic answers a question about the so-called post-Tito period and about how our highest leadership was prepared for the time after Tito.

[Begin Zarkovic recording] There were and still are speculations about what will happen in Yugoslavia after Tito. These speculations ran in accordance with the popular saying, "He who likes something dreams about it." However, these forecasters of Yugoslavia's falling apart after Tito have forgotten that Yugoslavia sprang from the blood and the deepest aspirations of our peoples and that it is no fragile or temporary construction.

They have forgotten or keep forgetting that Tito long ago became an essential part of our social essence, that he identified with our community, our workers class, our internal self-managing socialist development, and our nonaligned foreign policy. He left behind a strong LCY and a strong Yugoslav community with numerous friends in the world, and with a clear long-term vision of its development, as well as a well-running system of collective work, decisionmaking, and responsibility.

We know that even now there are some people in our country and in the world who (?dis-like such) a Yugoslavia, socialist, self-managing, nonaligned, [word indistinct]. But we have many more friends who respect our country precisely because it is like this.

Resting upon everything that we have created together with Tito, we do not waver today where these and other basic tenets and values are concerned. Of course we also have some difficulties and [words indistinct]. I would even say that sometimes we stress them too much. But this is how we are: We react temperamentally against everything that bothers us.

It is an indisputable fact that a great gap has been left in our ranks with Tito's departure. But we must overcome this gap and we are overcoming it through reliance on Tito's work and through intensified collective efforts. We must continue the further successful development of our socialist self-managing society [end recording]

COMPOSITION OF LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE DISCUSSED

AU030827 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 24 January and on 25-26 January, both times on page 5, carries a 6,000-word report by Krste Bijelic of a Zagreb Television studio discussion carried on 21 January, time not given, in which Jure Bilic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Nijaz Dizdarevic, member of the LCY Central Committee; and Radisa Gacic, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, took part. Luka Mitrovic was the moderator.

Speaking about the preliminary draft LCY Statute which has been completed, Jure Bilic is quoted as having said:

"According to the present proposal, the republican congresses and the provincial conferences will elect, from among several candidates by secret ballot, the candidates for the LCY Central Committee. The LCY congress will elect, by secret ballot, the Central Committee or rather those candidates proposed by the Congresses of the LC's of the republics and the provincial conferences to the LCY congress, not selecting among more candidates but only the number to be elected. The present proposal is 15 each in the republics and 10 each in the provinces and the LC in the Yugoslav People's Army. If some delegate fails to get a more than 50 percent majority, the delegation of this republic or province or the Yugoslav People's Army will propose another candidate for whom a vote is again taken. In this way, we avoided a formal confirmation [verifikacija], but the LCY Central Committee is nevertheless to be elected at the LCY congress. Another innovation is introduced: every candidate to be an LCY Central Committee member of a republic or province or the LC of the Yugoslav People's Army will go for consultations with all republican and provincial leaderships and the LCY Central Committee before the congress is held. In this way, we wanted to ensure that a candidate from a republic or province will not be the expression of only the positions and interests of his own republic or province, but will be in this way obliged to take account of the LCY as a whole and the interests of each of its parts, or rather that he will be responsible to the entire LCY for his behavior in the LCY Central Committee."

Moderator Mitrovic remarked that Nijaz Dizdarevic, at the 22 session of the LCY Central Committee, "rather sharply and radically" advanced some proposals which have not appeared in the preliminary draft of the Statute.

Dizdarevic said that the proposals for the election of the Central Committee are a step forward "For me, however, there is no justification to stick to a Presidium even as a name, although some say this is not important, for it will tend back to the old practice. After all, even the explanations of the commission stress the need to enhance the executive role, with which I agree. But I do not agree that the Presidium should stay, for it will 'tend' to a duplication which we have had, between the 12th and the 13th congresses. If you please, on the one hand we discussed the relations in the federation in the LCY Central Committee, and the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed the relations in Serbia, an equally important question. We discuss the plan, and the Presidium adopts conclusions about the plan law. Or the development of underdeveloped regions.... This is a duplication which we can do without in the future. We need to emphasize executive function."

Mitrovic said that Dizdarevic wants a president of the Central Committee rather than a president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium as proposed in the draft, and Dizdarevic observed:

"Of course! It cannot be anything else in this view. An Executive Committee may have a secretary, but the Central Committee must stress its main role also by having a president who would coordinate with the presidents of the commissions and with the executive secretary the plan and the work of the Central Committee and the implementation of tasks."

Mitrovic asked Radisa Gacic whether the newly proposed definition "that the LC's in the republics are independent and unified organizations in a unified LCY" is a compromise considering "the sharp debates" in the LC's to Vojvodina and Kosovo about the definition of the LC of Serbia.

Gacic replied: "No, it is not a compromise. Our strivings to define the republic organization as a unified organization have not been restricted to the organization of the LC of Serbia alone, but we were of the opinion that all the organizations of the LC in every republic and province should be defined as unified. Unity at one level does not exclude unity at another." He said that in the LC of Serbia they wanted to ensure that "the LC of Serbia should function without hindrance, that elements of federalization and duplication should not be introduced in it, that the principle of democratic centralism can be implemented, that the Central Committee be the highest organ of the LC of Serbia as a whole, that its decisions will be binding on all, or rather that we avoid the tendencies that the LC of Serbia and its Central Committee are often reduced to the narrow region [uze podrucje, Serbia proper] which in the Statute and in the organization does not exist at all."

Mitrovic asked what the proposed definition will mean for the LC of Serbia, and Gacic replied:

"Well, the definition makes some things clearer. It eliminates some disagreements, and I think that it is satisfactory, as regards its content." However, Gacic thought that action is also necessary, so that "matters should run along desired roads and directions."

PETITION CLAIMS 'GENOCIDE' AGAINST KOSOVO SERBS

AU041332 Paris AFP in English 1320 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 4 (AFP) -- A group of Serbian intellectuals in a petition released today called on the Yugoslav Government to take urgent action to halt what they called the "genocide" of Serbs in the Province of Kosovo, which has an Albanian majority.

The petition, signed by 212 intellectuals and submitted to the parliament here, charges that 200,000 Serbs have fled Kosovo over the last 20 years in the face violence from the Albanian majority. It claims that the authorities in Kosovo have allowed Serbs to be persecuted in the province.

Among the signatories of the petition were members of the Committee for the Freedom of Expression and Opinion, formed in 1984 to defend six Yugoslav dissidents.

VLAJKOVIC VISITS EGYPT, TALKS WITH MUBARAK

For Egyptian and SFRY reportage on the visit by President Radovan Vlajkovic to Egypt, including talks with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak and meetings between the foreign ministers, see the Egypt section of the 4 February Middle East & Africa DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.